

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

CXV. Vol. V.—No. 9.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MAY 1st, 1844.

[Price 4d.]

THE SUGAR QUESTION: MR. BLAIR.

IN our last Number we submitted to the consideration of our readers an examination of the "Address to the Friends of the Negro" on the question of the Sugar duties; in our present Number it is our gratifying duty to present a proof of the beneficial effects which a due consideration of the subject may produce. From the letter which we have the pleasure of inserting below, it appears that Mr. Blair, one of the gentlemen who concurred in issuing the Address, has seen reason to change his opinion. This letter will be read with great interest. It is strongly characterized by the eminently amiable and high moral qualities so long known to distinguish its author, and must endear him alike to all parties. We give it without further comment.

"Bath, 23rd April, 1844.

"MY DEAR SCOBLE,—After the most mature consideration I can give to the Sugar Question, I have determined on addressing the enclosed letter to Joseph Sturge. Pray let it appear in the next *Reporter*. It has been an effort to me; but my judgment and my conscience both tell me I am acting right, and that ought to be sufficient to satisfy any man.

"J. Scoble, Esq.

"Yours sincerely,
"W. T. BLAIR."

COPY.

"Bath, 24th April, 1844.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have read your letter addressed to the Rev. T. Spencer, G. Anstie, Esq., and myself, on the Sugar Question, with the careful attention it deserves. I have also gone over the debate that took place on the subject at the last Convention, and have endeavoured, with all the fairness I am capable of, to re-consider and weigh the facts and arguments that have been adduced on both sides; and the result is, that I am constrained to abandon the ground I have hitherto taken in favour of the admission into the British market of the sugars of Cuba and Brazil on *equal terms* with the produce of free labour. Having come to this conclusion, candour requires that I should publicly state the change that has taken place in my sentiments, and the reason for it.

"I observed in my speech at the Convention—'I hope it is almost unnecessary to say, that, if I thought the measures which the resolution before the meeting contemplates would have the effect of augmenting and aggravating the horrors of the slave-trade, no consideration on earth would induce me to support it.' Believing, as I now do, that the *immediate* effect of such measures would be to increase these enormous evils, I am bound by my own acknowledgment to retract the unqualified assent which I gave to the principle on which the resolution was founded.

"I am as strongly convinced as ever, that the employment of slave labour is destructive of the interests of the master, and that, in the long run, and not a very long run neither, the labour of the freeman will displace and abolish the labour of the slave; but my present apprehension or conviction is, that, *while the principles of free labour are working their way, and the great change consequent on free competition is in progress, a convulsive effort will be made by the slaveholder to reap a double harvest, because he would know that his time was short.* I shrink from the responsibility of being accessory to this. I am not prepared to expose a single additional cargo of plundered Africans to the horrors of the middle passage, or to add one manacle or inflict one pang on a single man or woman now toiling in hopeless bondage. And if there is even a *risk* of such fearful consequences, should that risk be incurred? If there is a *doubt* as to the result of opening the British market to the sugar of Cuba and Brazil, who should have the benefit of this doubt, the *slaveholder* or the *slave*? I would not have it inferred that I was ignorant of these consequences until they were suggested by your letter, for they were powerfully dwelt upon by Dr. Lushington in his speech at the Convention, which I confess made a strong impression on my mind at the time; but my scruples on this head were silenced by the conviction that I felt that, *ultimately and not very remotely*, slavery and the slave-trade would be abolished by the policy I was advocating, and that *in the aggregate* there would be a saving of human life by the adoption of that policy. My present judgment is, that I should not be justified even 'for a time,' as you have put it, no, not for a month, or a day, in aggravating the atrocities of slavery, and its inevitable concomitant the slave-trade, even though it should accelerate the downfall of the unrighteous system by half a century.

"Do I lay myself open by such views to the imputation of being insensible to the privations and sufferings of my fellow-countrymen at home? I hope not. I will yield to few men in my desire to redress the wrongs, or to relieve the necessities, of our suffering poor; but there is nothing in these sufferings that will bear comparison for a moment with the horrors of the middle passage, or the prison-house of slavery; and I have a better opinion of the

manhood of my countrymen generally than to suppose, if the subject were fully explained to them, they would care to receive a larger supply of a single article of luxury at a cheaper rate, if it was to be obtained, even 'for a time,' at the price of the tears, and groans, and blood of their fellow-men. Though an advocate for free trade, I have never taken up this question on such grounds; neither do I regard it as a party or political question, but as a grave, moral problem, that is to be decided strictly on Anti-Slavery principles; and viewing it, as I have endeavoured to do, in its immediate bearings on slavery and the slave-trade, truth and duty compel me to retrace a step which, I believe, I have taken in a wrong direction. Though this avowal should expose me to a charge of precipitancy or vacillation, it will be a small matter in my estimation, compared with the satisfaction of acting out the convictions of my own conscience.

"I am, your very sincere friend,
(Signed) "W. T. BLAIR."

"To Joseph Sturge, Esq.

FRANCE.

THE questions of Slavery and Emancipation are again beginning to excite the French press. The occasion of this has been the presentation of certain petitions by MM. Isambert, Gasparin, and De Lamartine, from the workmen of Paris to the Chamber of Deputies, for the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in the French colonies. Of course it was not to be expected that the portion of the press in the pay of the planters, such as the *Globe*, conducted by Granier Cassagnac, and the *Commerce*, edited by M. Lechevalier, would be silent. We, therefore, find the *Globe* not content with vituperating the abolitionists, maligning their motives, and sneering at their objects, but actually engaged in printing supplements to its ordinary sheet from day to day, to prove the compatibility of slavery with Christianity as taught by the fathers, John Chrysostom and Augustin, and grounded on apostolic authority. Now, with all respect for these venerable pillars of the Greek and Latin churches, we must be permitted to judge for ourselves of the true interpretation of Paul's message to Philemon, by Onesimus: "Receive him, that is my own bowels . . . *not now as a slave, but above a slave, a brother beloved*, specially to me, but now much more to thee, both in the flesh and in the Lord." If that were to return the fugitive to slavery, it was certainly a strange way of doing it!

The *Commerce*, more dignified in its language, strives to reach the same end with the *Globe*, though by different means. It cannot be brought to defend slavery, but then it assumes that its abolition would be attended with immense injury to France. It would cripple its revenues, weaken its maritime defences, and prove injurious to the slaves. In other words, it would be a political blunder; and that is worse, according to this journal, than the continuance of an atrocious crime.

The *Presse* also has some elaborate articles on the same subject, got up for the purpose of proving that, notwithstanding slavery is a gross violation of the natural, civil, and political rights of men, the condition of the slaves in the French colonies is really so easy and comfortable that its abolition is not necessary.

The refutation of these organs of the planters we leave in the hands of our French friends, persuaded that they will triumph in the controversy to which they are summoned. They have a glorious object before them, and they will act in a manner worthy of it.

In connexion with this subject, it gives us the sincerest satisfaction to being able to announce that the French Society for the Abolition of Slavery have determined to issue a monthly periodical, under the name of the *Abolitionist*, in which the actual condition of the slaves in the French colonies will be shown, and the various branches of the great question of Emancipation discussed by men of eminent ability and talent. We look for the numbers of this periodical with great interest, as they will afford us the means of knowing the principles which guide, and the spirit which animates, our fellow-labourers in the sacred cause of human freedom in France.

The following article from the *Univers*, a journal decidedly favourable to the abolition of slavery, on the broad ground of its being opposed to Christianity, indicates the course it is probable the French Government will pursue on the question of abolition:—

"It is believed that a '*projet de loi*,' relative to the emancipation of slaves in the French colonies, has been examined by the Council of Ministers, and will be shortly laid before the Chambers. The personal opinion of M. le Baron de Mackau, who has acquired, by four years' residence in the colonies in the capacity of governor, some experience, appears to have weighed with his colleagues, and has led to the adoption of a system of emancipation which it is thought will be of easy execution. The negro slaves are to have the right of self-redemption secured to them by law, which they do not enjoy at the present time, emancipation depending on the will of the master. The slaves are to have the right of purchasing

themselves out of their savings. The state will only co-operate with them so far as to afford its assistance to the most meritorious in the way of reward. Thus the government promises itself a double advantage: on the one hand, it will stimulate the negroes to industry and economy, and on the other emancipation will be secured by slow degrees, without imposing large sacrifices on the mother country."

We will not allow ourselves to comment on this poor scheme of Emancipation. We can scarcely believe that the French Government will venture to propose to the Chambers so paltry a measure; which would be an insult to the distinguished men who, for many years past, have devoted themselves to the serious consideration of the question of Emancipation, and, at the same time, be in the teeth of the recommendations of the Royal Commission, presided over by the Duc de Broglie.

MR. RICHARDSON'S MISSION TO MOROCCO.

Our readers are already apprised that Mr. Richardson set out from this country about the close of the year, on an anti-slavery tour along the northern coast of Africa, and will be glad to receive intelligence of his movements.

Mr. Richardson sailed from Gibraltar, on board a trading vessel, in the beginning of February, and, after encountering imminent peril on the voyage, he arrived at Mogador, the principal trading port of Morocco. He found that the emperor was then at the city of Morocco, as were also the governor of Mogador, and Mr. Willshire, the British consul. On sending forward his request for an interview with his Moorish majesty, he received for answer that the emperor would not receive him, or any address of which he might be the bearer; but that he was required to leave Morocco in the same vessel which brought him to Mogador. This abruptness seems to have arisen from the notoriety which Mr. Richardson's object had obtained, through the annunciation of it especially in the French papers. On the return of the governor and Mr. Willshire to Mogador, Mr. Richardson presented his request for an interview with that officer, and this request was granted. On the 16th of March, at four o'clock in the afternoon, he was introduced by the British consul, and favoured with an audience which was strictly private, and lasted about two hours. He commenced the interview by reading, for the purpose of opening the subject, and supplying topics for conversation, the following address:—

May it please your Excellency,—The mission with which I am charged to this country is to persuade his imperial Majesty the Emperor of Morocco to co-operate, in any way his imperial Majesty may deem proper, with the people of England, for the abolition of slavery. I am sent to the court of Morocco by a society of English gentlemen, whose object is to persuade all men, in all parts of the world, to abolish the traffic in human beings, as a traffic contrary to the rights of man and the laws of God.

In undertaking this mission, these gentlemen applied to the Government of our Sovereign Queen to furnish me with letters of recommendation to the British consuls of this country, the representatives of her Majesty the Queen of England. Copies of these letters are in the possession of Mr. Willshire. These letters express strong sympathy for the object of the mission, and require the consuls to give me their fullest protection; and so far, our gracious Queen, the Government, and the English people, are all agreed, that it is a good and proper thing to address his imperial Majesty the Emperor of Morocco, to co-operate with and assist them in putting down the traffic in slavery in every part of the world.

If the Government of the Queen had thought that they should recommend to your Excellency and your royal master anything contrary to your religion, they would not have given me letters of introduction to their consuls in this country. Rest assured, that the English people believe it to be agreeable to the doctrines and precepts of all religions to abolish the traffic in human flesh and blood.

I therefore pray your Excellency to receive the petition of which I am the bearer from a society of English gentlemen. Our Government has already spent three hundred millions of dollars, the money of the people of England, to destroy the traffic in human beings; and every day our Government continues to spend vast sums, adding to this enormous amount, for the same object of humanity. I am sure that, if your Excellency and your imperial master value the friendship of England and the British Government, if it be a politic and good thing for Morocco to be allied with the most powerful Christian Government in the world, the most certain way to conciliate and found this alliance on a durable basis, is to co-operate with the people of England for the abolition of the traffic in slaves, and graciously to receive this address from the Society of Abolitionists in London.

We come not to your Excellency with force of arms—this would not be just: we use only moral persuasion. Our religion disapproves of compulsion in all such affairs. But I can assure your Excellency, that the English people will never cease, though all nations be against them, as long as God Almighty holds them up as a people, to endeavour, in every possible way, to persuade and convince the world that the traffic in human beings is a great crime.

To this address the governor replied, paragraph by paragraph; and an extended conversation arose out of the discussion of it. The following paper contains the substance of his Excellency's reply:—

[After saying that he was happy to see Mr. Richardson, and welcomed him to his country, his Excellency proceeded, the first paragraph of Mr. Richardson's short speech being read, to reply to it substantially in the following manner:—]

"Your mission is against our religion. I cannot entertain it, think of it, or interfere with it, in any way whatever. If in other countries

the traffic in slaves is contrary to the religion of those countries, in this it is not; here it is lawful for us to buy and sell slaves. Mahomet, our prophet, has authorized us to do this; but at the same time our slaves must be fed and clothed like ourselves. If you wish a proof of this, you can go and look at my slaves (*pointing to his house*). To be holders of slaves is a merit with us.

"Your address ought to have come directly from your Government—from your Queen to our Emperor: it is not enough that it is recommended by your Government. In Europe sovereigns are accustomed to act by the advice of their counsellors and ministers; but the Sultan of Morocco always acts without advice or councils. If the address had come from the Queen it would have been received, and an answer would have been returned accordingly. Then, if your Government had been offended at the answer of my master not agreeing with their opinion, they could have taken their own satisfaction in any way they might have thought proper.

"The money which you say the people of England have spent for the suppression of the slave-trade has been, according to our opinion and religion, mispent, and employed to destroy a system of which we approve, and consider lawful. Still, however, I hope God will give your country more money to spend, and in abundance.

"The English people and the Moors of Morocco have been, from time immemorial, great friends; proofs of which I can give you. The guns that we get from other Christian nations are never so good as those which we receive from England. Besides, we always give the English whatever they ask for. When the French were at war with Spain, and wished to take Ceuta from her, the English demanded from our Emperor a small island near Ceuta, to prevent the French from landing and seizing Ceuta. To this request his Majesty acceded: and to show you that the English are our particular friends, the English gave the island back to us when the war was at an end."

Mr. Willshire having presented the Address of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to his Excellency, and prayed him to accept it, his Excellency continued:—

"No, I am sorry I cannot accept it—if I do, the Sultan must also, for now I act as the Sultan. Indeed, I dare not receive it, nor write to his Majesty about it: nor can I look at it; for in case the Sultan asks me about it, I must be able to swear that I have not touched it or seen it; and if I look at it, and then say I did not look at it, the Sultan will order my tongue to be cut off from the roof of my mouth.

"And further, were the Emperor to agree with your Society, and abolish the traffic in slaves throughout his dominions, all the people would rise up against him in revolt, and the Emperor would be the first to have his head cut off.

"Therefore, as a good and wise man—which you must be, or you would not have been entrusted with this mission—you must comply with the orders of the Sultan's message, given to you by me and Mr. Willshire. Anything which you want for yourself, for your private use, I will give it to you, even to all this city of Mogador; but I cannot comply with the prayer of the Address, or receive it from your hands."

Thus baffled and repelled, nothing remained but for Mr. Richardson to leave Mogador when he could find a convenient opportunity; but his plans had not, at the last date, been matured. He is far from thinking, however, that his mission, although officially unsuccessful, has been a practical failure. The fact that an English gentleman was coming, and had come, for the purpose of procuring the release of the slaves, and of putting an end to slavery and the slave-trade, had become extensively known among the people of Morocco, and had created a sensation quite unusual. The interest excited manifested itself by an eager curiosity, together with the invention and credulous reception of exaggerated reports. One of them was that the English agent intended to purchase all the slaves; and some respectable persons at Mogador told Mr. Richardson on the very night of his arrival that they had already been calculating at how many millions of dollars the bargain must be struck. And while the much-dreaded address is officially refused with so much pertinacity, all the Moors, not excepting the Governor, are known to be very desirous of seeing it privately; nor does it seem beyond hope that in this manner the document may be perused by the Emperor himself. The entire novelty of the subject thus introduced to general discussion in Morocco has (to use an expressive term of Mr. Richardson's) "perfectly staggered" the Moorish official and other principal persons; and we are inclined to concur in the hope that the effort may not be ultimately unfruitful. Some encouragement to this hope arises from the domestic interest in the matter described in the following extract from Mr. Richardson's latest communication.

"The lady members of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society will be happy to learn that, among their sex at least, in this part of the world, the anti-slavery mission is well received. The wife of one of the most distinguished Moors of Mogador informed a Jewess of her acquaintance, that she was very glad to hear that a Christian had come to liberate all the slaves, and that they were soon to be liberated (such is the credulity and ignorance of these poor women, who never leave their houses but once or twice a year). The truth is, that the respectable Moorish ladies detest the system of domestic slavery, and wish to see it abolished. They see themselves gradually abandoned by the husbands of their youth for the most ignorant and degraded negress slaves, whom their husbands purchase one after another, as their caprice or passion excites them, until their establishments are filled with these slaves. These artful and lascivious negresses absorb all the conjugal affections of their master, and the legitimate wife is left a barren widow, and is obliged to wait upon these pampered slaves, whose insolence increases in proportion to the favour of their master. These female slaves, besides, when they bear sons, are treated with great respect, and their children are free, and by the law cannot be sold—although the Moors do sell them when hard pressed for money. Such is Mohammedan domestic slavery, always working inhumanly one way or other. I am further told that even the negresses are

beginning to chatter about the anti-slavery mission, and expressing their satisfaction to their Jewish neighbours. Of course this sort of information can be obtained only through Jewish females, it being impossible to speak about such a matter with a female of this country of the Moorish religion; but you may rely on its being perfectly correct."

FRENCH VIEWS OF BRITISH EMANCIPATION.—No. II.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Paris, 3mo. 25, 1844.

ESTEEMED FRIEND,—Had I the time requisite for the task, and were it consistent with the space which can suitably be devoted to the subject in the *Reporter*, I should be glad to follow Captain Layrle throughout the whole of his statements relative to the British colonies which he visited. In this way it might be seen how many mistakes he has committed in reference to each of them, and how frequently he has contradicted in one place that which he has asserted in another. Such a course is, however, impracticable. I shall, therefore, content myself with a few additional remarks on Captain Layrle's evidence relative to the colonies not already noticed.

Barbadoes is stated by him to enjoy a state of commercial prosperity.—*Abolition de l'Esclavage*, 4th pub., p. 465. Everything there proceeds favourably.—*Ibid.* p. 466. More land is under cultivation in the island than under the preceding systems. If the labourers are not equally numerous, labour is better organised, and as large an amount of produce is raised as formerly.—*Ibid.* p. 469. Labour has never been wanting, but the incessant droughts of 1840 and 1841 prevented the growth of the cane, which, in these years, scarcely attained the half of its ordinary dimensions.—*Ibid.* p. 472. Plantations have preserved their primitive value.—*Ibid.* p. 491. The first class of labourers receive one franc eight centimes, and the second eighty-one centimes daily.—*Ibid.* p. 491. Captain Layrle was everywhere struck with the air of contentment and enjoyment that he found on all countenances; and yet, according to him, the negro at Barbadoes can scarcely live.—*Ibid.* p. 495. I notice here some still more startling inconsistencies, if not contradictions. Although it is stated as above, in one passage of Captain Layrle's report, that the negro in Barbadoes can scarcely live, in another it is no less confidently affirmed that the amount of wages paid in that island is equivalent to that given in Trinidad and Demerara, owing to the greater cheapness of living in the former colony. Again, we are informed that the negroes of Barbadoes, (ill provided as they are said to be with the means of livelihood, and little as, according to the same testimony, the ties of kindred exist among them,) nevertheless sustain their aged and infirm relations.—*Ibid.* p. 497. Marriage is stated to take place among the negroes in Barbadoes as elsewhere, and perhaps more than elsewhere, but the moral obligations which it imposes are represented as being often violated. In proof of this statement, Captain Layrle appeals to the records of the Court of Conciliation. These records J. Scoble has seen, and he informs me that they do not support the charge. Captain Layrle admits that everything in the rural districts of Barbadoes denotes order, and a possession of comfort which does honour to the administration, to the planters, and to the emancipated population itself.—*Ibid.* p. 496. His general conclusion respecting the colony is that, though undoubtedly it has chances of future prosperity, he would not affirm that, with all its advantages, in the extent of its population, the occupation of its territory which prevents idleness and vagabondage, and the existence of a class of rich and resident proprietors, it will escape the common law of the ruin of the former slave colonies. Still he says Barbadoes is a fine and interesting colony!—*Ibid.* p. 498.

Of Antigua, Captain Layrle observes it has maintained during the last seven years a state of prosperity which every impartial person cannot fail to acknowledge.—*Ibid.* p. 189. The exports have increased rather than diminished since emancipation.—*Ibid.* pp. 194, 195. In a passage which shortly afterwards occurs, Captain Layrle seems to have abandoned for a moment, his favourite theory of the superiority of slave over free labour. "If, under the system of slavery, labour had been as complete and productive as it ought to have been, if the negroes had employed their time to the best advantage, there is no doubt but they would have produced more than they do at present, when, in consequence of freedom, the fields have lost a third of their labourers. But I have had occasion to say in my former reports, that forced labour has never answered the expectations that have been formed respecting it, and I find a new proof of this in the table of production in Antigua during fifteen years."—*Ibid.* pp. 196. If the colonists are to be believed, Captain Layrle says, the plantations are worth without the negroes as much as they were worth formerly with their gangs of slaves.—*Ibid.* pp. 218, 220. In some places he speaks of education as a source of idleness and immorality among the younger portion of the emancipated population. Thus he appears to believe that juvenile prostitution, which he asserts to exist extensively at St. John, is attributable to the education given in the schools.—*Ibid.* p. 208. In another part of Captain Layrle's report I find the following passage, which is doubtless more conformable with truth:—"It is useless to insist on the salutary consequences that have been produced in civilizing the negro population of Antigua by a religious education and elementary instruction. The effects are such that they appear to me to have attained their ultimate end, that of modifying in a sensible manner the primitive manners of the negro, and of effacing to a certain extent the

African character. I have travelled in the colony in all directions, and at all hours, without hearing, whether on holidays or days of labour, the sound of the bamboula, or any of those noisy manifestations which elsewhere characterize the leisure of the negroes. I have visited the churches, and frequented the schools, and everywhere I have been struck with the sight of the crowd which eagerly repaired to them with seriousness and intelligence." Of the judicious management of the schools and the mode of conducting public worship, it is further said that they concur to explain the moderation of the negro in his pleasures during the very brief period of leisure left to him. In these leisure intervals Captain Layrle has often surprised young people and children, occupied in reading the bible, and doing this with a remarkable degree of intelligence.—*Ibid.* pp. 175, 176. It is evident, then, that the most opposite effects are attributed by Captain Layrle to the same causes, and that, if the prostitution alleged to exist at St. John be admitted as a fact, it is an exception to the general conduct of the emancipated population. My friend J. J. Gurney, who has recently arrived at Paris, states that he did not witness the licentiousness spoken of at St. John, and does not believe that it exists there. Punishments for crime, Captain Layrle states, have considerably decreased; but then, Captain L. says, too much stress must not be laid on this fact!—*Ibid.* pp. 211. An unfavourable account is given of the physical condition of the emancipated population in Antigua.—*Ibid.* p. 203. But it is not asserted to be more unfavourable than at Barbadoes, where, as has been seen, the negroes are not only able to maintain themselves but their helpless connexions.

Of the new freemen in St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada, it is said, that their present social condition has placed them more in contact than they previously were with civilization, and that they have rapidly adopted its habits and its wants. The men are no longer in rags or ill clothed, as they were formerly; the women are no longer naked or covered with a coarse *toile de Guinée*; at present both are well dressed, and, in the fields as well as in the town, they are often to be seen in superior clothing. Their food is also of a much better description than formerly. Owing to the wants which emancipation has produced, the negroes remain employed in the cultivation of the soil. Their circumstances are easy, and they enjoy a degree of comfort nowhere found among the labourers of Europe.—*Ibid.* p. 127. Emancipation is therefore blamed as having done too much for them. At St. Lucia, the price of a day's labour has risen, Captain L. says, to two francs sixteen centimes, whilst at St. Vincent and Grenada he found it to be only eighty centimes. He visited the new cottages which the proprietors had built for the peasantry; they are charming wood houses, boarded inside. Their free inhabitants ornament them with useful articles; and the whole presents a clean and comfortable appearance, which contrasts with the former bamboo huts covered with thatch that in some places recall the period of slavery. Each of these new and pretty little houses costs the proprietors from 100 and 150 dollars.—*Ibid.* p. 144.

St. Christopher only fixed Captain Layrle's attention in reference to its productiveness, which in 1839 (the first year of freedom) experienced a considerable increase. Thus, in 1836 this island exported 6,000 hogsheads of sugar; in 1837, 5,000; in 1838, 5,583; and in 1839, 6,823. Captain Layrle remarks that the result of the last year might seem, at first sight, to indicate that the negroes have been more assiduous in the cultivation of the ground than in the other colonies he had visited; but contends that this conclusion would be erroneous. The negroes, he asserts, are everywhere the same; there is not a place where, since the day that introduced freedom, they have showed more aptitude to labour than another; and at St. Christopher's, as elsewhere, a considerable number of hands lately employed in agriculture have quitted the field. But, in 1839, this colony had so abundant a crop, and the canes were so productive, that probably half a century will pass away before a similar phenomenon will again present itself; the labour of the negroes had nothing to do with it (*la main des noirs n'y a été pour rien*).—*Ibid.* p. 160.

Before bringing these remarks on Captain Layrle's Report to a conclusion, I may observe that he states that the governors and other agents of the British government never hesitate to give their evidence in favour of free labour, of free cultivation, and of the good conduct of the emancipated population. The disadvantages which exist under the free system they attribute to the planters, who, on the other hand, complain of the conduct of those in authority.—*Ibid.* p. 151. Captain Layrle thus undertakes the decision of the whole question: "When a person has been upon the spot, when he has been placed in a situation to enable him to appreciate facts, and has himself shared the fears and hopes of those around him, it is not difficult to arrive with confidence at this truth:—emancipation is a measure fatal to the English colonies: they can never recover from the blow which they have received."—*Ibid.* p. 152. Enough has, however, I hope, been seen of Captain Layrle's character and evidence to enable the reader to appreciate, at its just value, the statement of opinions intended to induce the French government to withhold from two hundred and fifty thousand of its subjects a liberty to which they have a claim, no less sacred than the present governor of French Guiana himself.

The same motive which has induced me to notice only a few passages from the extensive reports of Captain Layrle, requires that I should altogether pass over the generality of those made by other Frenchmen who have visited the British colonies subsequent to emancipation. On one of these, however, that of Dejean de la

Batie, a distinguished inhabitant of Bourbon, I shall bestow two or three observations. This report, consisting of more than eighty pages, is marked by the most inveterate prejudices against emancipation, and by statements of so extravagant a character as to secure their disbelief by all reasonable and impartial persons. One passage extracted from it may serve as a specimen of the whole. I give the extract in the original, because it is difficult to render it in English:—"Donnez des besoins au nègre, vous ne le ferez pas travailler, vous le ferez périr. L'esclavage le fait travailler et le conserve; mais ce n'est pas un besoin qu'on lui donne, c'est une violence qu'on lui fait qui obtient ce résultat."—*Abolition de l'Esclavage*, 4th pub., p. 431. I appeal, in disproof of the former part of this statement, to the natural increase which is taking place in nearly every colony of Great Britain in which liberty has been given, and the rapid increase which occurs in some of them. The latter part of the statement is equally disproved by the nearly stationary or rapidly decreasing population of the French slave colonies. The single British colony, Mauritius, may not present the same favourable results in the excess of births over deaths as others, owing to the large preponderance of males over females, and the numerous deaths which have taken place among the Indian labourers introduced within the last few years. I would, however, especially demand of Dejean de la Batie where is the evidence of the conservative influence attributed to slavery in that island with which he is best acquainted, Bourbon? There, owing to a still greater inequality of the sexes than exists at Mauritius, and the rigours of slavery superadded, the number of deaths among the slaves is nearly double that of the births. In Bourbon the females constitute only a third part of the adult slave population, owing to the recent existence of the slave-trade. On plantations in Bourbon it has been found, as the result of numerous observations, that the women are only in the proportion of one-seventh, a tenth, and even a twentieth of the males; a large proportion of the female slave population being resident in the towns. Comment on such facts, in connexion with the assertions made by Dejean de la Batie, is superfluous. At present I shall not stay to consider further the assertion, that the atrocious violence done to the negro by slavery is the means by which the negro is to be preserved.

In the communications I have forwarded to thee, I have only adverted to a portion of the contents of two of the volumes referred to in the early part of my last letter, and find that it is impossible to do anything like justice to the contents of the remainder in the space I had prescribed to myself. I shall therefore not attempt it at present, but hope that some opportunity will be found of commenting upon them at an early period in the pages of the *Reporter*.

I remain, respectfully, thy friend,

G. W. ALEXANDER.

IMMIGRATION TO THE WEST INDIES.

From the papers recently laid before Parliament, we derive the following information:—

Since the 1st of August, 1834, and up to the 31st of December, 1843, there have been added to the labouring population of the West Indies the following numbers:—

| | |
|--------------------------|--------|
| Jamaica | 6,635 |
| British Guiana | 19,945 |
| Trinidad | 7,845 |
| Dominica | 907 |
| St. Lucia | 192 |
| St. Vincent | 136 |
| Total | 35,660 |

Of this course of immigration the following has been the cost:—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|-------------------------------|---------|----|----|
| Jamaica | 89,455 | 3 | 5 |
| Ditto for townships | 22,452 | 6 | 4 |
| British Guiana | *72,554 | 12 | 2 |
| Trinidad | 27,309 | 9 | 3½ |
| Total | 211,771 | 11 | 2½ |

A TABLE SHOWING THE PLACES FROM AND TO WHICH IMMIGRANTS HAVE COME.

| Places from which. | Jamaica. | British Guiana. | Trinidad. | St. Lucia. | Dominica. | Total. |
|------------------------------|----------|-----------------|-----------|------------|-----------|--------|
| Africa | 1,486 | 3,556 | 688 | .. | .. | 5,930 |
| Canada | 245 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 245 |
| Europe | 1,038 | 381 | .. | 60 | .. | 1,479 |
| Great Britain | 2,685 | .. | .. | 54 | .. | 2,739 |
| India | .. | 406 | .. | .. | .. | 406 |
| Madeira | .. | 5,349 | .. | .. | .. | 5,349 |
| Malta | .. | 264 | .. | .. | .. | 264 |
| St. Helena | 400 | .. | 402 | .. | .. | 802 |
| St. Michael's | 91 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 91 |
| Surinam | .. | 31 | .. | .. | .. | 31 |
| United States | 281 | 73 | 2,186 | .. | .. | 2,540 |
| West India islands | 408 | 9,884 | 5,473 | 78 | .. | 15,843 |
| Captured slavers | .. | .. | .. | .. | 907 | 907 |

* At four shillings and twopence the dollar.

It appears from these returns, that, of the migration that has taken place in connexion with the British West Indies since emancipation, a large proportion (about four-ninths) has consisted of an interchange between the West India islands themselves, leaving five-ninths of the gross number, or very nearly 20,000 persons, as added during the period to the labouring population. Of the 2,739 who have gone from Great Britain, almost the whole (2,685) have gone to Jamaica, and a large proportion of these (1,333) in the year 1841. Of those from Europe, also, the larger number (1,038) have gone to Jamaica, and these were all from Germany. Of the 2,540 who have gone from the United States, the greater portion (2,186) went to Trinidad, principally in 1839 and 1840, as the fruit of the effort to beat up for emigrants of which so much was heard at the time. This source of supply materially failed in 1842, and ceased entirely in 1843. The most industrious and successful hunter of men has been the colony of British Guiana, into which nearly 20,000 immigrants have been imported, four-sevenths of the whole number. She has drawn her supplies from many sources: from various parts of the continent of Europe, from Malta, from Madeira—and from this island no less a number than 5,349; from India (the Gladstone Coolies), from the United States, from Surinam. She has also drawn largely on her neighbour islands, having derived nearly 10,000 labourers from them. The immigrants returned as from Africa amount to 5,930, all, of course, subsequent to the year 1841, and all having gone to Jamaica, Guiana, and Trinidad.

With the statement of these facts we shall at present content ourselves, adding only one word. These five-and-thirty thousand immigrants—where are they now, and what has become of them?

DISTRIBUTION OF ARABIC TRACTS.

We mentioned some time ago that an anti-slavery tract had been printed in the Arabic language, partly for the use of Mr. Richardson in his tour to Africa. A number were also intrusted to the Hon. W. Jay, of the United States, then in London on his way to Egypt; and we have now the pleasure of inserting a letter just received from him, exhibiting the manner in which he has disposed of them:—

Naples, 23rd March, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I avail myself of a leisure moment to render you an account of the disposition I have made of the anti-slavery tracts in Arabic, which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, through you, did me the honour to intrust to my care on my departure from London for Egypt.

On receiving these tracts it immediately occurred to me, that I could not do better with them than place them in the hands of gentlemen whose opportunities for making a good use of them would be greater than my own. Hence I left one hundred with the agent of the Malta Anti-Slavery Society. The constant intercourse between Malta and the Mohammedan countries on the Mediterranean will enable the Society to dispose of the tracts to the best advantage. On my arrival at Syra, which is in the direct route between Constantinople and Alexandria, I called on your consul, Mr. Wilkinson, for whom I had a letter of introduction, and requested him to accept of fifty of the tracts. He received them very cheerfully, and promised to embrace the facilities his position afforded for making a judicious use of them.

At Cairo I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of the Rev. Mr. Leider. He very readily accepted one hundred tracts, saying that his familiarity with Egypt would enable him to place them where they would be most likely to do good.

The Rev. Mr. Kruse was on the eve of his departure on a visit to various villages in Upper Egypt. He also very cordially took another hundred to distribute on his journey.

Not having the honour of an introduction to her Majesty's consul-general in Cairo, Col. Bartlett, I addressed a note to him, stating that your Committee had intrusted these tracts to me, but that, being an entire stranger in Egypt, and intending shortly to leave it, I was at a loss how to forward the benevolent views of the Committee more effectually than by taking the liberty of sending him a portion of the tracts, feeling confident that he participated in the desire for the abolition of human bondage which so honourably distinguished his government and nation. This note, together with a bundle of one hundred tracts, I personally delivered to his servant, who promised to give them to his master. Having received no reply from the consul-general to my note, I am unable to predict what disposition he will make of the tracts.

During the short time I was in Egypt, I distributed your tracts in the slave-markets, in the bazaars, in a public coffee-house, in the hotels, and to persons in the streets.

A gentleman long resident in Egypt, and in whose piety and information I had full confidence, on reading one of the tracts, expressed to me his regret that it was addressed exclusively to Mahomedans, and not to slaveholders generally; remarking that the Coptic Christians were great slaveholders, and far more cruel masters than the Turks, and that their clergy justified slavery from the Bible. I confess, however, that these reasons for changing the address of your tracts are, in my opinion, far from being conclusive. I have seen too much in my own country of the fatal influence exercised by bishops and clergy in vindicating slavery, and paralyzing the consciences of slaveholders, not to be convinced that the disciples of the false prophet will be more accessible to your arguments and remonstrances, than a people who are taught to believe that our blessed Redeemer authorises the abolition of the conjugal and parental relations, and the conversion of those for whom he died into beasts of burden. The late conduct of the Bey of Tunis forms a strong, though mortifying contrast with that of slaveholding Christians generally.

It may not be improper to mention, that, on embarking at Syra (1st of January) for Alexandria in the French government steamer *Scamandre*, I found on board a number of Turks, and four females in Turkish costume, three white and one black. It was soon whispered among the

passengers that these females were slaves, going from Constantinople to a market in Egypt; their owner was pointed out, and even the price mentioned which he demanded for one of them. On speaking to an officer of the ship, he acknowledged that these females were slaves; and when I remonstrated with him on the impropriety of receiving them on board, he treated the subject with levity. It should be recollected that these steamers are armed vessels, commanded by officers wearing the royal uniform. It can scarcely be doubted, that, on proper representations being made to the government, orders would be issued prohibiting this portion of the French navy from affording in future any facilities to the detestable commerce in human beings.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Your friend and obedient servant,

John Beaumont, Esq.

WILLIAM JAY.

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE IN MOROCCO.

(From our own Correspondent.)

Mogador, February 22, 1844.

THE number of slaves in this city is from eight hundred to a thousand; but it is very difficult to ascertain the exact number, the opulent Moors having many female slaves, with whom they live in a state of concubinage which even the government itself cannot know anything of. The majority of the population of Mogador are coloured people, the Moors of Fez resident here alone being white. What would the Yankees say at nearly all the great dignitaries of this immense empire being a coloured race, some of them of the blackest Guinea dye; the emperor himself being also a fourth or fifth caste! I am sorry to hear, for the first time in a Mohammedan country, that the young rich and fashionable Moors, becoming disgusted with the old habits of marrying and taking a wife early—whilst the law requires every good Mussulman to marry once in his lifetime—begin the immoral habit in Mogador of buying female slaves, and making them serve for all the purposes of wives; thus avoiding, as they say, the trouble and expense of marrying females of their own rank and standing in Moorish society. This system has, you are aware, often been practised in substance, form only differing, in the great capitals of Europe. The consequence of this vicious plan adopted by the young Moors of Mogador, you may imagine is very detrimental to the interests of even Moorish society; and the sooner the Europeans abolish the slave-trade the better for the happiness, as well as honour and respectability, of this people. Slaves are imported into Mogador *via* Wadnoon, a wild country some hundred miles farther down this coast. Wadnoon is independent of the emperor; the inhabitants are a few grades more uncivilized than those of Mogador, and they trade direct with Timbuctoo, whence and from the neighbouring country they import slaves, some of which are sold and detained here, and the rest, the greater part, are forwarded to Morocco, and thence to all parts of the empire. It was in the Timbuctoo frontiers of Wadnoon where the unfortunate Mr. Davidson was murdered. No doubt the interested merchants who had this zealous traveller assassinated in so unprovoked a manner, were afraid of their overland slave-trade receiving a check from his exertions.

A great distinction is made between the blacks of Timbuctoo and Guinea, the latter being considered more worthy, alas! and more fitted to be slaves. The blacks of Timbuctoo, also, are Mohammedans, which is an immense advantage for them; whilst those of Guinea, and the slave countries adjacent, are mostly pagans, whom, of course, the good Mussulman abhors, and considers it a pious act to enslave them in order to convert them. There is no market for slaves in Mogador. The same practice is adopted here as in Tangier. The public crier leads the poor afflicted creature about the town, alleging the price already offered, and calling for a greater, until the human being is knocked down as goods by the auctioneer's hammer! The price varies very much; and in these countries, where slaves are not wanted for the cultivation of plantations, a great deal depends upon the caprice of the buyer.

How horror-stricken would Christian Europe be to have unveiled to them all the unnatural crimes cherished in Mohammedan countries by this detestable system! The common price of a slave, male or female, in Mogador, is from sixty to ninety ducats (a ducat in this country is of the value of an English half-crown); but the other day there was a beautiful African girl of about fourteen years of age, freshly imported from the interior, sold in this city for 160 ducats, or about 20*l.* sterling. This was considered an extraordinary high price. Slaves are liberated at different times according to Mohammedan law, and are treated here as in most of the cities of the Moors: one day they may be nursed as children, and covered with caresses and favours; the next day, without cause or even being told the reason, they may be strangled! Such is the system which guarantees property in the bodies, almost the souls, of our fellow-creatures. There has no instance occurred within many years of slaves being brought to Mogador from the Slave Coast; indeed, this could not be expected. The Moors are not sailors; whilst they feel themselves infinitely more secure in traversing with their slaves the Sahara, where certainly no English cruisers can reach them. You are perfectly aware, however, of the sacrifice of human beings in the overland trade, and that the billows of the great sandy desert swallow up its hundreds or thousands annually, like the ocean, enraged by the crimes of man against man! Still, although the emperor's subjects do not import slaves *via* the sea, there is no reason that a treaty might not be made with him similar to that made with the Imaum of M^oscat. I do not here allude to the Mediterranean slave-trade, but that from this port and the southwestern coast of Africa. Were the Moors better sailors, certainly such a trade would be flourishing.

LETTERS ON THE SUGAR QUESTION.

Spitalfields, April 9, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have been so impressed with the necessity of keeping alive the interest of the government and the public on the subject of the ruinous consequences, as regards our exertions against the slave-trade, which must necessarily ensue upon the introduction of slave-grown produce, that I have thought it my duty to lay before Sir Robert Peel the opinions which, after the most mature consideration, I feel compelled to adopt on this important question.

We cannot be blind to the many interested motives at work, in the endeavour to obtain from the government so calamitous a concession as the one in question; nor can we fail to observe how vigorous are the measures adopted in order to insure the result which we so much deprecate: and, seeing this, it has appeared to me that I could not do wrong in stating directly to the government what I feel to be the true and real sentiments of the majority of those gentlemen who are still resolved to make the example of England, as the enemy of slavery and the slave-trade, the precedent for all future exertions in such a noble cause; which precedent would be obscured, if not entirely destroyed, by the introduction of a measure so calculated to add an impulse to the growth of sugar by slave labour, and consequently to the trade in slaves, as the diminution of duties on the sugars of Cuba and Brazil.

You will, if you please, have the goodness to lay this before the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society.

Believe me, my dear Scoble,

Very faithfully yours,

T. FOWELL BUXTON.

J. Scoble, Esq.

Spitalfields, April 17, 1844.

SIR,—As some persons have, I believe, addressed the government on the subject of the sugar-duties, and as many are taking measures for making their views known to the public, I hope I do not appear to you to be putting myself too forward by troubling you with my opinions on the same matter.

I feel most strongly that to allow Cuba and Brazil to send their slave-grown sugars to Great Britain with any serious diminution of restrictive duties, would be to undo, in great measure, the work in which this country has, so much to her own honour, been for so long a period, and at such heavy sacrifice, engaged.

The impulse which would be thus given to the growth of sugar in Cuba and Brazil could not fail to be very great. An immense addition to the number of labourers would necessarily be required; and it is too late to entertain a doubt as to the horrid cruelties and crimes which must be perpetrated in order to obtain that supply of labour.

But it is not merely the cause of humanity which would thus suffer; the character of our nation would receive an indelible stain. It has been our pride to furnish encouragement and energy to the friends of freedom; and now, supposing us to yield to the entreaties of those who are interested in slavery and the slave-trade, we shall stand forth as the revivers and re-animators of those monstrous iniquities. We shall employ one fleet on the coast of Africa to suppress the trade, while another, under the British flag and supported by British capital, will be sailing from Cuba and Brazil, to supply the British market with sugar, which can only be produced by that new slave-trade which we shall thus call into existence.

I assure you that I have felt deep gratitude to yourself and your colleagues for your steadfast refusal to admit slave-grown sugar; and I am not altogether unable to estimate the strenuous resolution which it must have required, in order to enable her Majesty's ministers to resist the entreaties of some, the threats of others, and the plausible appeals of those who have made the distresses of our own people the ground on which to base their interested applications.

I am aware that some persons, very different in their character and in the objects at which they aim from those to whom I have alluded, and who are as strenuous as any class in hostility to the slave-trade, are yet, as lovers of free trade, in favour of the admission of the sugar of Brazil and Cuba. On them, I need hardly say, I mean no reflection; I only lament that I am compelled to differ from them.

There are also some, warmly attached to the cause of the negro, who object to the employment of armed force for the suppression of the slave-trade. With these I do not agree. I need not trouble you, Sir Robert, with any argument to show that this infamous traffic is a compound and an accumulation of all crimes, or that it merits (looking to the present calamities it inflicts, and the innumerable and heavy evils which result from it), more than any other great iniquity, to be visited with the vengeance of the law. Nor can I conclude this letter without remarking how sincerely I have rejoiced in the vigorous policy of the government, as evinced by their sending out so many additional cruisers and steam-vessels to the coast of Africa, to co-operate with the squadron before stationed there in a yet more determined effort to give the final blow to the iniquitous occupation of the slave-dealer.

I have the honour to be, Sir Robert,

Your very faithful and obedient servant,

T. FOWELL BUXTON.

Sir Robert Peel, Bart., &c., &c.

The following letter from Dr. Lushington was written in reply to a question, proposed to him by Mr. Barry, "Whether he retained the opinions which he had expressed in the House of Commons?"

Great George-street, February 5, 1844.

My dear Friend,—The opinion I maintained in the House of Commons was this—that sugar from places which still carried

on the slave-trade should not be allowed to come into competition with English sugar, or free-grown sugar.

The train of reasoning which led me to this conclusion was, that Cuba and the Brazils still carried on the slave-trade—that even with their present markets they found it profitable so to do—that to add to their markets was to give an increased stimulus to the production of sugar—that such increased production could only be effected by the increased importation of slaves, it being wholly impossible that the slaves at present existing in Cuba and Brazils could produce more; therefore, by the admission of Cuban and Brazilian sugar, the slave-trade must be augmented.

I have heard nothing since to disprove this reasoning; on the contrary, many of the free traders have admitted that such must be the immediate consequence; but they add that, in the result, such admission of sugars would destroy the slave-trade and slavery too.

Even if this argument were true, I never could consent to a measure which would occasion an immediate increase of the slave-trade, even though it were probable that it might ultimately (no one could conjecture when) abolish both the trade and slavery itself.

I doubt, however, if, under the circumstances, the argument be indisputably conclusive. It depends on the following proposition—that free labour is cheaper than slave labour; and that the introduction of Cuban and Brazilian sugar would act so promptly as a stimulus on the countries producing sugar by free labour, that improved machinery and greater economy would excite them to raise sugar so cheaply that all slave-importing countries could not compete with them.

Now I fully admit that, *all other things being equal*, free labour must be cheaper than slave-labour; but surely it cannot be contended that fertility of soil and number of labourers are not material elements. I really do not know how Jamaica, with its inferior soil and comparatively small number of cultivators, could compete with the rich land of Cuba and a constant supply of slaves; certainly I think Jamaica could not for a number of years to come, and during the whole of that interval there would be an increased temptation to the slave-traders of Cuba and the Brazils to augment their infamous traffic. Therefore, for the sake of Africa, and not for the West Indians, I am still opposed to the suggested measure.

I am, and always have been, the advocate of free trade; for nearly thirty years I have uniformly upheld those principles. I will buy honourably at the cheapest market, but I will not purchase of the robber and the thief, because they can undersell the honest man. On this principle, and claiming no protection for the West or East Indies, I would allow the importation of sugar from all places where it is free grown, on moderate duties, so soon as it can be done without breach of existing treaties.

I will only add that most willingly would I change my opinion, if I could be convinced that the introduction of sugar from slave-trading states would not increase the slave-trade.

I pray you to observe that the objection on which I have always insisted, is, not to the admission of sugar from countries where slavery exists, but where the *slave-trade* is carried on.

This latter question, the admission of sugar from countries having slaves, but no slave-trade, stands on different principles, and has not practically arisen. I therefore give no opinion upon it, especially as I could not do so, save at length. This letter, indeed, imperfectly as it states the question, has already outgrown what I expected.

I am, very faithfully yours,
(Signed) S. LUSHINGTON.

P.S. Pray read the little pamphlet, "Fifty Days on Board a Slaver," and think if any advantage could compensate for half a dozen such occurrences.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY
FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

THE FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING of the above SOCIETY will be held in EXETER HALL, on FRIDAY, the 17th of MAY, 1844.

The Right Hon. LORD BROUGHAM will preside.

The Chair will be taken at Eleven o'Clock precisely. Tickets may be had at the Office of the Society, 27, New Broad-street; of James Nisbet, Berners-street; Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly; Jacob Post, Lower-street, Islington; Henry Sterry and Sons, High-street, Borough; and of Charles Gilpin, Bishopsgate-street.

Now ready, price One Shilling and Sixpence to Non-Subscribers,

THE FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT of the BRITISH and FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY; with a copious Appendix, in reference to the Slave-trade throughout the world; its extent; the cost of endeavours to suppress it; abolition of Slavery in British India, the British settlements in the East, Scinde, &c.; results of Emancipation in the West India colonies; Emigration from Africa to the West Indies; Emigration of Indian Labourers to Mauritius; British subjects holding Slaves in foreign countries; Washington Treaty; Slavery in the United States of America, the Dutch, French, Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and in Brazil; Treaties with the South American republics and with Hayti; Slavery in the East, &c. &c.

London: Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row; and British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all Newsvenders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.,) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MAY 1, 1844.

By an advertisement in our paper of this day, it will be seen that the Fifth Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society is to be held at Exeter Hall, on Friday, the 17th of May. The Chair will be taken by the Right Hon. Lord Brougham.

We mentioned in our last that a petition had been prepared for presentation to both Houses of Parliament, on behalf of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Committee, in relation to the pending discussion on the sugar duties. We have now to state that those petitions have been presented. That to the Lords was presented by Lord Brougham, and that to the Commons by Mr. Scholefield. In addition to this, petitions of a similar tenor have been presented from the following places:—Birmingham, Hitchin, Colchester, Stratford-on-Avon, Exeter, Sunderland, Glasgow, Kendal, Fakenham, Oswestry, Torquay, Helston, Darlington, Newton Abbott, Reigate, Chester-le-Street, Ware, Alton, Carlisle, &c., &c.; also one from Alfred Rooker, and one from the Stoke Newington Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association.

The progress of the discussion on the sugar question has elicited an expression of opinion from two long tried and distinguished friends of the anti-slavery cause, whose letters we have the pleasure of inserting to-day; we mean Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart., and the Right Hon. Dr. Lushington. Nothing that we can say can add weight to these letters; nor, we hope, will it diminish in any degree the influence of Sir Fowell Buxton on the main question, if (as we must) we express our dissent from that part of it which relates to the employment of armed force for the suppression of the slave-trade.

Of the numerous communications which have been received by the Committee in reply to the Circular which appeared in our last, all have been favourable except one. The Committee at Worcester have sent up an adverse resolution, which is said to have been passed unanimously. It appears, however, by a letter from Mr. Brewin to Mr. Sturge, that the resolution is far from expressing the sense of the whole Committee. It is as follows:

"Worcester, 25th 4 mo., 1844.

"DEAR FRIEND, JOSEPH STURGE,—I am sorry that many of our Anti-Slavery Committee approve of the introduction of Brazilian sugar. I conceive it would be a violation of the great principle espoused by the Anti-Slavery Society, that every man has a perfect right to dispose of his labour in such a way as *he* thinks best, no other man having any right over him. If we encourage slave-grown produce we shall be aiding and abetting men who violate this principle of justice and freedom, and riveting the chain of the slave. As one of the Committee here, I must avow my dissent from the course adopted by that body. There are other members of the Committee, I believe, who unite with me.

"Blair sent me their Circular, and I replied that I approved of *free trade* with every country producing their commodities by *FREE* labour.

"I am thy sincere friend,

"EDWARD BREWIN."

The most important incident, however, in this controversy at the present moment is the change of opinion on the part of Mr. Blair, announced in a letter from himself to Mr. Sturge, which we have inserted elsewhere.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer, on Monday evening, after presenting his budget for the year, made the very gratifying announcement, that the Government had resolved to avail themselves of the expiration of the treaty with Brazil in November next, as an opportunity for recommending the admission into this country of foreign sugar *raised by free labour*, on favoured terms as compared with that raised by slaves. The differential duty against foreign sugar at present is about 4½s. per cwt.; and Mr. Goulburn proposes that after the month of November, the differential duty on free-grown foreign sugar shall be only 10s. It will then be admitted at a duty of 34s., while sugar of British growth pays 24s. We cannot but hail this announcement with great satisfaction, as a step—a first and important step—in the right direction. Of course, we should have been more happy if the differential duty had been altogether annihilated; a point which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society will still feel it their duty to press, and on which they look with confidence for the support of their friends throughout the country. We must also express our deep regret, that Ministers have enfeebled their position by the manifest inconsistency of reducing generally the duties on foreign coffee. We repeat our conviction, however, that the step taken is a most important and salutary one; and we tender our heartfelt thanks to the Government who have adopted it. The debate contained an episode of some moment between Mr. P. M. Stewart and Lord Stanley on colonial immigration. We shall, of course, return to both subjects.

OUR friends G. W. Alexander, and B. B. Wiffen, have recently visited some of the principal towns of Holland for the purpose of promoting the abolition of slavery in the colonies of that country. They had the pleasure of meeting friends of the anti-slavery cause at Utrecht, Groningen, Amsterdam, Leyden, the Hague, and Rotterdam. Previously to reaching Holland they learned that two numbers of a work intended to advocate the abolition of Dutch colonial slavery, to be continued every two months, had been published at Utrecht. During their stay in that town they had the further satisfaction of learning that the conductors of this interesting and valuable periodical, entitled, "Contributions to the Knowledge of the Dutch and Foreign Colonies, especially in reference to the Emancipation of the Slaves," meet every week for the purpose of conversing on the subjects to which it relates. In all the other towns visited by our friends, they had the gratification of seeing unequivocal proofs of the deep interest felt in the anti-slavery cause. On a future occasion we hope to furnish some information obtained by our friends during their journey, and to notice several works recently published in Holland besides that herein noticed, in which the question of the abolition of slavery is prominently brought forward. Previously to leaving Holland our friends drew up an appeal for the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in the Dutch colonies, addressed to the friends of justice, humanity, and religion in Holland, which they hope will be extensively circulated.

In our Colonial Intelligence will be found an article from a Trinidad paper, indicating some contemplated changes in the laws of that colony of a nature too well adapted to inspire alarm. It appears that there has been sent out from the Colonial Office a draft of three ordinances, intended to alter the excellent laws now in force relating to contracts for labour, and to supersede the stipendiary magistracy by the appointment of a court of appeal. Without knowing more of the ordinances recommended by Lord Stanley than we now do, it is, of course, impossible to express an opinion of them; but the language used by the governor and other parties in Trinidad, as to "making labourers enter into contracts," and the great benefit which "the planters" are to derive from them, gives rise to the most painful apprehensions.

WE mentioned in our last the fact of John L. Brown's safety, technically on the recommendation of his judge, but really, no doubt (as one of our American correspondents affirms), because the South Carolinians "did not dare to hang him," in the face of the indignant feeling which such an atrocity would have aroused throughout the Union. We trust the sentiment of horror which the possibility of such an event has excited among all classes in this country will have the effect of preventing any further application of so barbarous a law, even *in terrorem*. Indeed, the existence of such a law—now rendered notorious, although (as we are informed) heretofore denied—is a blot on the name of Carolina which, it may be hoped, will be speedily wiped away. With respect to Judge O'Neill himself, who seems to think the commission of any enormity "in enforcing the law" a matter of perfect innocence, we are sorry that, by the levity with which he has treated this subject in his letter, he has affixed a stigma of sanctimoniousness and hypocrisy on the religious language used by him in passing the sentence of death. We can say nothing severer of Judge O'Neill, than to perpetuate the fact of his having written the following words:—"Our revolutionary sires thought precious little of the rascals who stole or aided negroes in running away; little of their blood would have been poured out to keep such from the gallows; they would sooner, much sooner, have tied the noose than cut it with their swords." Assuredly the spirit of justice and of judgment breathes not here.

WE gave in our last, in extracts from the correspondence of the *Times* and *Morning Chronicle*, a view of the general position of the annexation of Texas question. We are now enabled to give, in a series of extracts from the *Emancipator*, some fuller details of the excitement which the rumour of a treaty for that purpose had excited in the American press, together with the remarks of the editor of that paper, our friend Mr. Leavitt. We shall add here an extract of a letter from Mr. Lewis Tappan on the same subject. The space we devote to it will show that we contemplate it with deep and unabated interest.

"What an awful lesson has been taught our pro-slavery men at Washington by the explosion on board the *Princeton*! Upshur and Gilmer, thus cut down at a blow, were the chief actors in the nefarious scheme of introducing Texas into the Union. Mr. Tyler is no better. He will do all he can to bring about the annexation. I do not believe it can be accomplished. But there is no knowing what the satanic designs of wicked men may achieve. The great art among certain of our politicians is, and always has been, to carry measures by arousing jealousy and hatred of England. It is now trumpeted forth by this class of politicians that General Henderson, the special envoy from Texas, who is daily expected at Washington, is charged to inform this Government, that, if they do not agree to annex Texas, he is to proceed to England and offer Texas to the British Government. If the people can be made to believe this, the effect will be great and pernicious. It is said that Texan scrip is distributed freely. The truth is, a most desperate game is playing. The *Journal of Commerce* of this city is advocating the annexation, provided some restrictions can be made with regard to slavery! Other papers, from the editors of which better things might be expected, are urging for annexation. All the stratagems that can be employed by unprincipled men are at work. Still I do not think they can succeed. I cannot think the God of the oppressed will permit it."

WE perceive that our old friend, Mr. George Thompson, in his recent speech on behalf of the Anti-Corn-law League, has applied himself to the *vezata questio* of sugar and slavery. Nearly two columns of compact matter have we seen—and read—of his argumentation on this subject in the *Morning Chronicle*. We award it—this commendation is due to all he says—the praise of eloquence and tact. But he does no justice to the subject. Of the great and only reason why opposition is made by the Anti-slavery party to the admission of Brazilian sugar, namely, that it will increase at once the sufferings of the slave and the activity of the slave-trade, he takes absolutely no notice at all; leaving this still to be an argument "with which no man has grappled, and with which no man can grapple." This alone stamps vanity upon all his eloquence. What, however, did he say? He descanted on the inconsistency and insincerity of the present Ministers. Very well. Suppose this is granted, what then? Will that render the admission of Brazilian sugar less destructive to the slave, or less stimulant to the slave-trade? He said treaties and cruisers were futile. Suppose this also is granted, and we certainly agree with him, is this any argument for an open market? He said, "I see not why the people should be compelled, by legislative enactments, to buy the produce of the British West Indies, or be driven to the alternative of going without that which they want." This is thoughtless; since no man knows better than Mr. Thompson, that the British East Indies, as well as the West, supply to this country a large quantity of sugar, and that those who deprecate the admission of Brazilian sugar are for opening our ports to sugar free-grown from every part of the world. He says again, "I see not that the people can with justice be prevented from buying the produce of Brazil or Cuba, on the ground that the produce of those countries is the fruit of a slave system." This is not the point. Will Mr. Thompson say, that he thinks it would be right to open the British market to Brazilian and Cuban sugar, in the face of a fearful aggravation of the sufferings of the slaves, and an unlimited impulse to the activity of the slave-trade?

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Friday, April 19.

SLAVE TRADE.

LORD BROUGHAM wished to call their lordships' particular attention to the petition which he was about to present, as well on account of the extreme importance of the subject to which it related, as of the high character of the venerable gentleman from whom it emanated. It was the petition of Thomas Clarkson, who, nearer to seventy than sixty years ago, had first called public attention to the atrocities of the abominable slave-trade; and who now, at a very advanced period of human life, had the satisfaction of looking back to what had been effected by himself, in conjunction with the late Mr. Wilberforce and others who had followed in his footsteps, to put an end to that inhuman traffic. The petitioner entreated their lordships to give their sanction to such fiscal regulations as may admit foreign sugar into the markets of this country, provided it came from settlements in the East, or from Manilla, where free labour alone was employed; and he further prayed their lordships to adopt no measure whatsoever that would have a tendency, direct or indirect, immediate or remote, to allow the importation into the markets of this country of sugars grown in Brazil or Cuba, the produce of slave labour. The petitioner was convinced that any fiscal regulation having that object in view would be neither more nor less than an immediate premium given to the importation of negroes from Africa to South America, and would directly lead to the encouragement and extension of the slave-trade. The noble and learned lord presented petitions to the same tenor from Chester-le-Street (Durham), Colchester, and several other places.

LORD KINNAIRD said, he had seen a letter written by his noble and learned friend, in which he asserted that we never had much trade in sugar with slave states. Now, he and others had been labouring under a delusion, if we did not carry on a very considerable trade in sugar with such states. He had been led to believe that slave sugar was sent here to be refined, and was afterwards exported; and that, in this way, a very large trade was carried on. We sent our goods to Cuba, and took their sugar in exchange. That sugar we afterwards carried to Russia, and received in return their flax and tallow. This certainly was a roundabout way of managing the business, but still it was a dealing in sugar with slave states. The fact was, that a certain interest was to be supported, and they were afraid to allow the unfortunate people of this country to have their sugar at one half the price at which they might procure it if importation from those forbidden settlements were permitted. The trade with those places was not allowed directly, but it was permitted indirectly.

LORD BROUGHAM said, he would only give their lordships a single sample of the accuracy of his noble friend, with respect to the knowledge of the facts connected with the question which he had undertaken to elucidate. He (Lord Brougham) was able to say that he had made this question his study for many years before his noble friend had had an opportunity of turning his attention to anything of the kind. He was sure that his noble friend had been misinformed; otherwise he would not have said, that, by the introduction of sugar from Cuba, and other places where slave labour was used, the people of this country would procure that article at one-half the price they now paid for it. Why, it was clearly proved, by a recent calculation, that the third part of a farthing per pound would be the utmost difference that the importation of slave-grown sugar would make. The abatement of price would be the one-third of a farthing in the pound; and not, as his noble friend had said, the one-half of the existing charge. The whole argument of his letter went to prove this, that, if they opened the ports to a new trade in sugar with slave states, they would absolutely and inevitably add to the African slave-trade. He should be happy to meet his noble friend on the question whenever he thought proper to bring it forward.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Monday, April 29.

THE SUGAR DUTIES.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, having brought forward his budget, said,—Having made this statement to the House, I should, perhaps, here close my observations; but there is one other article, which, though not immediately under the consideration of the House, yet, as it must necessarily form, at no distant period, the subject of a separate discussion, and respecting which great anxiety exists to learn the intentions of Government—I refer to sugar (hear)—I should not act fairly towards this House if I did not openly state the course I intend to pursue when I move the question of the sugar duties. The House will not think it necessary for me to enter into all the details. I will merely state the principle on which we shall proceed, and defer the details until the subject comes regularly before the House. I allude to the subject now, for I know the great importance to every class to be apprised early of the determination which Government has formed with regard to sugar. The House are aware that the treaty with Brazil will come to a termination in the month of November next; and with the treaty will terminate the right which Brazil enjoys under the treaty of importing sugar into this country on equal terms with the most favoured nations. There was, however, an obstacle to the admission of slave-grown sugar into the British market. After November, however, I shall recommend this House to admit into this country, on payment of a differential duty, the sugar of those sugar-growing states which are exempt from the stain of the slave-trade, and which produce their sugar by means of free labour. We shall thus throw open the countries east of the Cape of Good Hope, we shall extend our trade with China; and we shall thus derive from those quarters, without departing from our principles or rule of conduct with respect to the slave-trade, a supply of sugar at a price which will tend to increase consumption; and also to give an additional impulse to the productive powers of British colonies. Of course, in stating that the countries east of the Cape of Good Hope are to be allowed to send us sugar, I except those countries where the slave-trade is still carried on. Where sugar is raised by slave labour, those countries will not be included in the reduction which I propose to submit. The differential duty on sugars from countries free from the taint of the slave-trade, I propose shall be 10s. per cwt.; that is, whereas British sugar pays now a duty of 24s., sugars from the countries I have referred to will pay 34s. per cwt. duty. I am quite aware that it may be said, although the Brazil treaty will be brought to a conclusion in November, there will still exist a treaty with the United States of America, which contains the same favourable clause as the Brazilian treaty. Nothing is further from my intention, or from the intention of the British Government, to infringe, in the slightest degree, any treaty that may have been concluded with any other country. And, when the time arrives, I shall be able to show, that, though sugar is raised by slave labour in the southern states of America, it is not calculated to be brought into competition with the sugar raised by the free labour of other countries. It would be most satisfactory if the state of the revenue admitted some arrangement to be made with respect to the sugar duties generally. But at present this proposition cannot be entertained with any hope of a satisfactory result. Until the expiration of the treaty existing between this country and Brazil in November next, it will not be in our power to act upon a general and uniform principle with respect to foreign sugars. The effect of such an attempt now would be to paralyse the whole of the trade in that article. After that date it will be the duty of the House to take into its consideration at what rates of duty sugars of foreign growth, and sugars from countries where slaves are engaged in their cultivation, shall be admitted by us. In making these observations, I beg to disclaim, on the part of the Government, any hostility to the particular state alluded to, or any intention to prejudice its commercial interests; and I trust that the proposed reduction of the duty upon coffee of the growth of foreign nations and countries, including that of Brazil, will be a sufficient pledge of the sincerity of our intentions in that respect. As to the amount of the differential duty, I am only anxious that we should take such an amount as will give an advantage to our own and to free labour sugar in the market over slave-cultivated sugar.

Mr. HUME said,—The policy pursued by the present Government with respect to Brazil was to him incomprehensible. He could not see the policy of declining to take from her cotton, coffee, and sugar, at a loss to this country of having our manufactures, to the value of 4,000,000l. annually, excluded from the ports of that country. He therefore protested against the proposed measure of the Government with regard to sugar.

Mr. F. BARING did not object to the proposed change in the sugar duties, but he was much afraid that the right hon. gentleman would find that, when he proposed a differential duty in favour of free labour sugar and against that of Brazils, the Brazilians would make a difference between our cottons and the cottons of other countries (hear.) He would not say that Brazil would benefit itself by such a course; but most assuredly this country could have no just ground of complaint if that country should adopt it. They would have another opportunity of discussing this part of the question, and he would not now further allude to it than by expressing his hope, that the right hon. gentleman had taken into his consideration the treaties which they had with several countries in this respect. On a former occasion they were no doubt told that the introduction of even one ounce of slave-grown sugar would be contrary to the principles of humanity; but the introduction of it was either right or wrong. No doubt hon. gentlemen might answer that only a small quantity would be introduced; but this only reminded him of the story of the poor girl who, when brought before the magistrate, assured him that it was a very small bastard of which she had been delivered (hear, and a laugh.) Would any man tell him that the taking out of the European market the quantity of sugar now consumed there would not give a stimulus to the trade in slave-grown sugar? From a statement made by Mr. McGregor Laird, he found that the whole of the sugar produced for importation was 673,000 tons, of which 204,000 tons were the produce of British colonies, leaving 469,000 tons for the use of the European market. From Manilla and Java, the amount of free-labour sugar amounted to 95,000 tons; and if they should take this quantity out of the European market, what, he asked, would be the result? Would not the supply be less than the demand? Would not prices rise, and would not the gap be filled by slave-labour sugar? (hear,

hear). Where, then, was their consistency? How could they expect that the people of England would not see through this very clumsy way of dealing with a question with which they were obliged to deal, and with regard to which they were only consistent in words (hear). He believed that by the arrangement proposed, they would give exactly the same stimulus to slave-labour in Brazil that they would have given if they had taken the 95,000 tons, not out of the European market, but out of the slave-grown sugar of Brazil itself.

Sir R. PEEL said that he would postpone any detailed discussion of the question until the opportunity alluded to by the right hon. gentleman. The right hon. gentleman had brought a charge of inconsistency against the government, with respect to this question, which was without foundation. He did not apprehend that, at the period alluded to by the right hon. gentleman, there was any question as to the admission of sugar the produce of free labour, so soon as our trade with Brazil should permit that admission without giving to Brazil the right to claim admission for sugar the produce of slave-labour. He recollected that, when they urged their objections to the admission of slave-grown sugar, they were constantly asked why they did not permit sugar the produce of free labour to enter into competition with sugar the produce of our own colonies. The hon. member for Wigan and the hon. member for Dublin, when they sat on that side of the House, had repeatedly asked that question, and the hon. member for Dublin had once given notice of a motion to admit sugar the produce of free labour into competition with our own colonial produce. Suppose they had refused to admit sugar the produce of free labour on the grounds stated by the right hon. gentleman, would they not have been taunted with a desire to maintain the monopoly of the West India colonies, and been told that their objections were not to the admission of slave-grown sugar, but to throwing open the monopoly of the West Indies? That argument would certainly have been used against them if they had not availed themselves of the earliest opportunity, consistently with their principles, to avow that, if they admitted any sugar into competition with that of their own colonies, such sugar should not be the produce of slave-labour.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said there was one announcement made by the Government that night of infinitely greater importance than anything else which they had stated; and, although other opportunity would be afforded of discussing the subject, he could not help availing himself of the first moment that offered to express his deep concern and regret at hearing ministers declare that they were prepared to take a step perfectly novel in the commercial legislation of this and, he believed, of any other country, by putting a commercial ban upon great nations intimately connected with this country. He alluded to the statement they had heard with respect to the sugar duties; and, although under some apprehension upon that subject from the statements he had heard, he had clung to the hope that when the right honourable gentleman came closely to consider the subject, and when he came to see the immense difficulties which environed his way of dealing with it, the right honourable gentleman would have taken a different course. He was surprised at the tone adopted with regard to the sugar duties. He was afraid that we should lose all credit with foreign nations on this subject. He feared that we should desecrate the sacred name of humanity, to which we had hitherto appealed in our conduct with regard to the slave trade. There would be other opportunities for discussing the details of this question, but he confessed he should be curious to hear the explanations of honourable gentlemen opposite. Suppose, for instance, a ship coming with a cargo of sugar from New Orleans, he should like to know how they could be sure that cargo of sugar was grown in Louisiana, and not in Cuba. Did they mean to rely on certificates of origin—documents not of the highest value, even when coming from our own custom-house officers? Of what value would they be when furnished by the American authorities of New Orleans? He greatly feared that they were opening the door to an endless system of evasion, subterfuge, and fraudulent trading, deeply injurious to the commercial character of the country, and of no use whatever in checking the slave trade, which they professed themselves so anxious to suppress; a system deeply injurious also to the general commerce of the country, by exciting hostile feelings against us in the Brazils and the Spanish colonies, and other countries whose unfortunate prejudices still bound them to the vicious system of slavery. All these consequences, he apprehended, would flow from this measure, which they were about to introduce for the first time into the commercial legislation of the country, without gaining any advantage in the way of suppressing the slave-trade, which he would go as far as any of them in seeking to put down. The right hon. gentleman, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, must feel that, under the present circumstances, the discussion of the sugar duties was of unusual importance. He trusted, therefore, that the subject would be introduced into the House at such a period of the session as should afford ample opportunity for full and mature consideration. He could not help remarking it as a peculiarly unfortunate circumstance that they should, under whatever pretext, be induced to establish a system of differential duties against any particular nation or nations at the present moment, when, unhappily, a great jealousy existed against the trade of England; and when a strong disposition was manifested on the part of rival commercial states to endeavour to persuade other nations to enter into treaties to our disadvantage.

Mr. P. M. STEWART said, there could be no doubt but that the colonies of this country were to be placed in competition with other countries. But what was the state of our colonies in reference to the supply of labour, in consequence of the foolish and unreasonable legislation which had marked the Colonial Office for some years past? In the year 1833, when slavery was abolished from a well-founded horror of slavery, laws were passed extremely injurious and hostile to the interests of our colonial possessions, by preventing contracts being made out of the colonies with regard to labourers, and by hindering in every way the supply of labour. Since then various regulations had been made, some better and some worse, but at the present moment—he made the statement in all courtesy to the noble lord—nothing could be so destructive to the colonial interests of this country as those unnecessary, unmeaning obstructions of every avenue through which labour could flow into the colonies. Were those dependencies not entitled to some relaxation of those restrictions? For what purpose were they upheld?

Were not the West Indies provided, like the mother country, with a magistracy to see justice done between the master and the labourer? Had they not the Passengers Act for the protection of emigrants to all quarters of the world? These were not mere idle assertions. He would only point to the three sources from which labour would naturally flow to our colonies. With regard to Africa, his noble friend the member for London, when in the Colonial Office, wrote a letter to the Governor of Sierra Leone, containing some excellent regulations with regard to the African labourers; but the noble lord's regulations were no longer acted on; for, instead of allowing the Africans to come from different parts of the coast, they had established a foolish—he trusted he should be forgiven the word—and mischievous regulation, which made it compulsory that all labourers going to the West Indies should be shipped at Sierra Leone, by which many of those whom they called their best class of labourers would be obliged to travel 600 miles along the coast to the point of embarkation. Arrived at Sierra Leone, they were obliged to wait six weeks or two months before they could embark for the West Indies. With these restrictions, it would puzzle the ingenuity of the noble lord to say what would be the supply of labour from the coast of Africa. He believed they would get no supply at all. With respect to the Coolies, a real prohibition existed. Maintaining the restriction with respect to the West Indies, they had found it necessary to make a relaxation in favour of the Mauritius, the result of which had been that nearly 40,000 Coolies had emigrated to that colony, and were comfortably settled there. The third source was China. Two or three licences had been granted to import labourers from that quarter lately, but last Saturday he had seen an answer from Singapore, in which the supply was stated to be impracticable on account of the conditions exacted; for no contract could be made out of the colony, and no shipowner would be bold enough to run the risk of importing them without some security that they would be hired on their arrival at the colony. He did not impute these mischievous regulations exclusively to the noble lord, for there seemed to be an anti-colonial interest ever at work in the Colonial Office, no matter who happened to be at the head of it. The regulation was, that no contract made out of the colony was binding; but that had been relaxed in the case of the European artisan. Why could not a similar arrangement be made with regard to the negroes, a proper certificate being signed before a proper officer to be appointed by the Government here? Not one of these officers had been appointed up to the present time, and the consequence was, that no labourers had been carried into the colonies; although they were told, every packet that arrived, that in some of the colonies there were crops, yet there were no labourers to work them, or if there were, they demanded higher wages than could be given to them. The noble lord had announced a small reduction in the duty on sugar, but he (Mr. Stewart) did not see how the consumer was to benefit by that change. (Lord Stanley here shook his head.) He had no hesitation in saying, that his object was to call up the noble lord, and to put him upon his mettle with regard to the proceedings that had taken place in the Colonial Office. If the noble lord would only take the matter in hand, and procure labour for the West India colonies through those channels from whence it could be readily obtained, he would soon put them in that position that they would be able to compete with any other part of the world. After he had done that, he might do with the sugar duties what he pleased; for his (Mr. Stewart's) conviction was, that their West India colonies would be able to compete with the world if they only had a sufficiency of labour. He was sure the House would agree with him, that, in the state the West India colonies at present were, there should be no obstruction to a free and abundant supply of labour. (Hear, hear.)

Lord STANLEY trusted, however little the question of the importation of labourers into the West Indies had to do with the one before the committee, that they would allow him to reply to some of the observations of the hon. gentleman. Indeed, it was quite impossible that, under the circumstances, he could be wholly silent; and he was not sorry that the hon. gentleman had given him an opportunity of expressing how entirely he differed with the hon. gentleman, as to the effect which the proposition of his right hon. friend would have upon the West India colonies. There was a time when hon. gentlemen opposite, entertained very different views upon that question to what they did then. With that, of course, he (Lord Stanley) had nothing to do. He was happy to be able to say, that, so far from acting in any way to the discouragement of the West India colonies, as regarded "tampering" with the sugar duties, the announcement that had been made by his right hon. friend was one calculated to re-assure them with regard to the definitiveness of the intentions and the stability of the principle with which the Government would deal with colonial protection. Throughout they had not contended for the principle of colonial protection as such, but for the principle of protecting free-grown as against slave-grown sugar. (Hear, hear.) Why the very objection taken that evening by the right hon. gentleman, the member for Portsmouth, and the right hon. gentleman, the member for Taunton, that for the first time they were placing on the statute-book a declaration recognising a commercial distinction between slave-grown and free-grown produce, might have satisfied the hon. gentleman who had just sat down, as it would, he thought, satisfy the West India proprietors, that, while they were not prepared to give them more than a just and fair differential duty for their produce over that with which it came into competition, namely, free-labour produce, they were determined, at whatever risk, and under all circumstances, to maintain a positive distinction and difference in favour of the produce of free labour, and as against the introduction of slave-grown produce, and against the encouragement of slavery and the slave trade. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear.") And he trusted that that principle, now for the first time announced, when it went to the West Indies, would show them that, they had to compete, although not upon unfavourable terms, with a limited amount of the produce of other countries,—it would show them the fixed determination of Her Majesty's Government to protect them from unfair competition with those who obtained an unjustifiable advantage, from the employment of labour obtained from that unrighteous source which it was the determination of the British Parliament and the British Government, in every way they possibly could, to put down. (Hear, hear.) The hon. gentleman had stated that the foolish regulations of the Colonial Office had prevented their

colonial produce from competing with that of other countries in every part of the world; and that the noble lord who had preceded him (Lord Stanley) in the Colonial Office, of whose labours he was disposed to speak with the greatest respect, and for whose talents and character he had the highest esteem, had laid down a model of regulations for emigration from Africa to the West Indies. Now he would tell the hon. member, that it appeared by the papers which had been laid on the table of the House, and which it was evident the hon. member had not read, that every step that had been taken in the Colonial Office since the retirement of the noble lord had been the removal of restrictions, the reduction of impediments, and the affording facilities of intercourse, and increase of communication, between the coast of Africa and the West Indies. (Hear, hear.) He defied the hon. member to point out a single step, with regard to emigration from Africa, in which the difficulties had been increased: he defied him equally to show a single instance in which the facilities had not been increased. (Hear, hear.) He (Lord Stanley) took no credit to himself for that; but he did say, that it was not quite fair of the hon. gentleman who had just sat down to talk about the regulations framed by the noble lord having been impeded by the subsequent course of the Colonial Office, that course having been to increase the facilities and reduce the difficulties of emigration to the West Indies. But emigration from the coast of Africa! Was that all? He should like to know what model regulations the hon. gentleman found in progress. He begged the hon. gentleman's answer. (Mr. Stewart was engaged in conversation with an hon. member near him.) The hon. gentleman had taken upon him to make a very unexpected attack upon him, and he would trouble him to listen to the answer. (Hear, hear.) The hon. gentleman talked of restrictions on the emigration of coolies. By whom? Not by him (Lord Stanley). He believed last year, or the year before, he was somewhat strongly attacked by the other side of the House, and particularly by the right hon. gentleman (Mr. V. Smith) opposite, for doing away with these restrictions upon the emigration of hill coolies, and for facilitating their emigrating into a British colony, which had been absolutely prohibited by the Government which preceded him. He meant emigration to the Mauritius.

Mr. V. SMITH.—I had nothing to do with that.

Lord STANLEY recollected how attentively and severely—how vigorously and how jealously—emigration to the Mauritius was watched by hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. Now, the hon. gentleman must be aware that, with regard to the Mauritius, he (Lord Stanley) had taken the first step for removing restrictions and facilitating the emigration of the coolies. He knew well the jealousy with which the proceeding was watched, and the reasonable apprehensions that were entertained and that existed, and he had stated that at the time; and in the papers which had been recently laid before the House, as the hon. gentleman well knew, he had referred to the Governor-General of India to say whether, in his judgment, a more extended emigration to the West Indies would be compatible with the doing away of those abuses, and whether similar precautions might not be taken so as to permit emigration to the West Indies as well as to the Mauritius, which the present government had for the first time permitted (hear, hear). So much for coolly emigration—but the hon. gentleman also talked of impediments in the way of the emigration of Chinese labourers. Why, was it the late government with its model regulations, or the invisible influence in the Colonial Office of which the hon. gentleman talked, that had thwarted that emigration? The fact was, that, for the first time, in the present year, permission had been given to import, not Chinese, but that class which was in the habit of being employed in that species of labour, from Singapore and the neighbouring districts, under special regulations, into the West Indies. For the first time that license had been given during the present year, and it was upon the present government, that had relaxed the restrictions to emigration from Africa, that had done away with these restrictions upon the emigration of the hill coolies, that had permitted the attempt to import Chinese labourers—it was upon that government as contrasted with the late administration that the hon. gentleman turned round, and charged it with preventing and restricting emigration, and thereby stinting the natural capabilities of the West India Islands (hear, hear). The hon. gentleman spoke as if there was an endeavour on the part of the government to prevent free emigration from any part of the world. There was no law in force that he knew of to prevent it; but there was a law in the West Indies prohibiting the entering into a lengthened period of service with persons from a remote country, who were wholly incapable of judging of the value of their labour, and making such terms and conditions as would be equitable. That such engagements should not be entered into was the only restriction he knew of with regard to emigration to the West Indies; and he would venture to tell the hon. gentleman, in answer to the attack he had made, that the whole course of the present government had been, not a course of restriction and prohibition, but of relaxation and remission, and they had done that in conformity with what they well knew to be the intentions and views of that House and the country (hear, hear). Whatever restrictions were retained were those absolutely necessary for the prevention of abuses, and by the necessity of not encouraging the exaggerated and unfounded expectations of advantage which was to be derived from the admission of emigrants into those colonies at an enormous expense, but limited by these precautions only. He ventured to tell the hon. gentleman that the whole course of the present government had been and would be that of removing all restrictions which were not absolutely necessary, and all those impediments which were felt to be uncalled for to a free emigration into every part of her Majesty's colonies (hear, hear).

Mr. P. M. STEWART, in explanation, was sorry the noble lord had been so much annoyed at his observations. He (Mr. Stewart) had not swerved from his principles in any way as regarded the course to be pursued towards the colonies. What he had stated had been said before—let them do justice to their colonies. The noble lord had worked himself into a heat, and had made that a party question which he (Mr. Stewart) had wished to be treated as a colonial and a national question. He would give the noble lord one instance of the model instructions, namely, a letter written by his noble friend (Lord J. Russell) to the Governor of Sierra Leone, and in that colony it was held to be a model of instruction on the subject. His attack had been made against the Colonial

Office; and he would repeat that every colonial minister who had been in that office had been made more or less of a puppet (a laugh) by some secret influence; and he called on the noble lord to apply his own good sense and straightforward judgment to the question, and follow out those principles which he had given them some slight hope he intended to adopt.

Lord STANLEY denied that he had made the matter a party question. He had referred to his noble friend who had preceded him in those terms of respect which he thought he deserved. The right hon. gentleman had said that the model regulations for the emigration of Africans to the West Indies were not at present in force. He (Lord Stanley) had stated, and he repeated it, that these model regulations for emigration from the coast of Africa had been in the main acted upon ever since, and whatever alterations had been made were in the way of relaxation and not restriction. The hon. gentleman had made an accusation which was very rife, of there being some hidden influence which superseded the arrangements of every Colonial Secretary of State, and exercised an anti-colonial influence in that office. Now he did not believe that the noble lord the member for London was a man very likely to have his own judgment set aside by that of any of those persons who acted under him—(Hear, hear.) For himself (Lord Stanley) he could only say that no papers passed through the Colonial Office of any sort or kind that did not come under his own eye, and were not subjected to his own examination; and on the subject of that particular question of emigration to the West Indies, since he had entered the Colonial Office, he had given the most constant and unremitting attention to it, and he would venture to say that it was not inferior to any that had been given by the noble lord himself while he held the same office—(Hear, hear.)

Lord JOHN RUSSELL thought, if the government had made up their minds to allow the introduction of foreign sugar, it was far better for them to say at once that they would admit it from whatever colonies it came, than to attempt to draw a distinction which was vicious in principle, and which he was convinced would be found impracticable in operation (opposition cheers.) As to its being vicious in principle, he wanted no other proof than the speech of the right honourable gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, because, after having stated his intention of excluding the sugar of the Brazils, he went on to say that it was done from no feeling of hostility towards the Brazils, because he had already stated his intention to give further facilities to the introduction of coffee (cheers.) He (Lord J. Russell) owned he could not very well understand that peculiar and nice morality which shrunk with horror from the introduction of slave-grown sugar, but had no objection to slave-grown coffee (hear, hear.) What was it made so immoral to introduce sugar, while it readily admitted coffee? It might be said that the labour of making coffee was lighter than that required for making sugar. What they wanted to discourage was slavery and the slave-trade, and he thought it would be highly objectionable to introduce in their legislation a principle which would draw a distinction between what should be allowed and what should not be allowed. But they carried the matter further, and made a distinction between different employments. Why their morality would become the plague and nuisance of the world (a laugh.) Then as to the practicability of the measure—who could deny that we would have the sugars of the Havannah brought in under forged certificates and entries? It was but a few years ago when that very useful committee, the import duties committee, which was presided over by his honourable friend, exposed the practice then in vogue, of sending coffee all round to the Cape of Good Hope for the purpose of its being introduced into the consumption of this country at the smaller duty (hear, hear.) If the measure of the right honourable gentleman was carried out, who would be able to prevent that most ridiculous practice from being again resorted to? Two hundred thousand tons of sugar was about the amount of our imports from British possessions; the right hon. gentleman hoped by his measure to introduce other 90,000 tons: that was adding nearly one-half to the consumption, and by such introduction of foreign sugar they would benefit the consumer to a certain extent, but in a very few years they must come down to the last step in the process, and introduce the very plan proposed by him (Lord J. Russell) in 1841—(Cheers)—with only the difference that, in place of 24s. and 36s., they would have to make it 24s. and 34s. He foresaw that result as clearly as possible. The proposal of the Government might cover their inconsistency for a year or two—(Loud cheers)—but they might depend upon it that they would find their unnatural and impracticable plan would only be replaced by the simple and natural plan of opening the markets for the introduction of foreign sugars generally. Then they would have the right hon. baronet coming down and bringing forward those great principles which he enunciated in 1842—that of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market. They were very just principles, and the right honourable baronet would come down and say, "Recollect those principles which I laid down in 1842; I have been waiting all this time for an opportunity of applying them. I did so in respect of onion seed, and of certain spices, and I also applied them to herrings (laughter;) now I am applying them to sugar,"—and he (Lord J. Russell) trusted they would soon see him applying them to the most essential article of all, viz. the food of the people.

MR. PHILLIPS could not but express his approbation of the reduction of duty on an article of such general consumption as coffee, but he could not understand the system of morality which would reduce the duty on coffee and would not reduce it on sugar. He saw no consistent morality in the course which had been taken with regard to Brazilian sugars. A Brazilian merchant might export his goods to any port on the Continent and get a bill of exchange drawn on England, and take back the value in British goods. The man must be a refined casuist who saw a difference between giving a man the value of his goods in money or in other articles. The sooner the absurd distinction was abolished the better.

The house then resumed, and the report was ordered to be brought up to-morrow.

Colonial Intelligence.

TRINIDAD, LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.—At a meeting of the Legislative Council of Trinidad on the 1st of March, the Governor brought to the notice of the board a despatch, which he had received from the Secretary for the Colonies, on a subject of, certainly, no small importance to the colony. We extract from the report of the *Standard* of the 5th:—

"His Excellency then informed the Board, that he had received from the Secretary of State a despatch of great consequence to the colony, but which, at the same time, appeared to him to be attended with some difficulty. It would be recollected that they had been called upon to enact certain laws; among the rest, three ordinances on the contracts with servants, recovery of rent of lands and tenements, and the regulation of labour. He had spoken to gentlemen connected with agriculture, who agreed that it was very requisite that some law should be made to make people enter into contracts for certain fixed periods, not less than one month, to the breach of which certain penalties should be affixed. The Secretary of State had sent out a model law on this subject for their consideration, with instructions to him to strike out certain parts to which there might be any serious objection; but it was to be subject to the contingency of creating a court of appeal, and the appointment of a person legally well informed as chairman of quarter sessions. Now, such an appointment will entail a large expense on the colony. His own opinion was, that it might probably be met hereafter by a considerable reduction of the stipendiary magistrates. They must, however, recollect, that at this moment the colony was not much burdened on account of the stipendiary magistrates, whose salaries, with the exception of 100*l*. per annum, were paid by the Home Government. Unless the Board was disposed to recommend that certain persons legally educated should be appointed to act as chairmen of quarter sessions, at a handsome salary, he did not think her Majesty's Government would allow the laws alluded to.

"The Treasurer seemed to doubt whether any advantage would result from the alteration that would be made in the magistracy for this purpose. It would encourage litigation to a great extent.

"Mr. Burnley.—In Jamaica it was found to work perfectly well. This colony had lost much from want of precision in the administration of law. This arrangement would be eminently calculated to correct that evil. It would be advantageous in every point of view. The planters especially would be greatly benefited by it; and any additional expense that might be incurred by the colony would be amply repaid by the advantages that would result from it. It was quite possible that, at the commencement, some litigious parties might endeavour to gratify their propensity for law, but that was an evil that would soon correct itself; when they found that they gained nothing by such a course, they would soon give it up. They would at last get a set of gentlemen who would know how to do the business of the country. He should say, looking at the subject in every point of view, that it would be a matter of economy, a considerable saving of time and money.

"His Excellency.—It seemed to be the wish of the Colonial Secretary ultimately to get rid of the stipendiary magistrates. Since emancipation, the wish at home was that the local magistrates should have nothing to do with the people who had been their slaves. As the circumstances are now altered, it is now considered that the local magistrate can take his former place. The Colonial Secretary found it to be desirable to watch with jealousy the working of the new system, and the least approach to coerce the people so far without a higher tribunal to which they might appeal. He did not think on this occasion they would object to meet the wishes of the Colonial Secretary. He hoped to see the time when the stipendiary magistrate would no longer be required.

"The Attorney-General, at his Excellency's request, gave notice that he would introduce three ordinances respecting contracts of masters and servants—regulation of labour—and recovery of rents of lands and tenements. The honourable gentleman also gave notice that he would further introduce an ordinance for establishing a court of quarter sessions, and for regulating appeals."

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—HEAR!—"I have just been informed of a case which fully illustrates the proposition that slavery subverts the moral government of God, by rewarding vice and punishing virtue. A coloured woman is now lying in a dungeon in Virginia, under sentence of death, to be executed in the ensuing month. Her crime is, that she struck, and happened to kill, a young man who attempted a brutal assault upon her person! It is not pretended that she aimed to kill. In her wretchedness and degradation she still dared to aspire to the dignity of a pure soul, and of honourable womanhood; and the blow which was merely intended to repel the ravisher, by an unhappy fatality, proved mortal. D.L.C."—*Anti-Slavery Standard*, Feb. 22, 1844.

MARYLAND.—The state legislature have a proposition now before them, to relieve the state of its bankruptcy by a sort of a star-chamber exaction, or levy, upon the 65,000 free citizens of colour. The plan is to compel all free coloured persons in the state, between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, to be registered and taxed. The *Baltimore Saturday Visitor*, one of the most independent journals we know, exclaims loudly against the iniquity of such a measure. It points out the great difficulty that would be experienced by hundreds really free, and yet unable to produce the testimony (not to say the money) required by law, owing to the death or removal of their former masters, or their distant wanderings in search of that employment which of late years has been so precarious. The result would be the re-enslavement of freemen.—*Emancipator*.

HOPE H. SLATTER AGAIN.—A case of considerable interest, which involves several important points, is now before the Baltimore county court. Hope H. Slatter, of that city, a large slave-dealer, purchased a bright mulatto girl in Winchester, La., as a slave. He subsequently disposed of her to a Dr. Buckner, of Mississippi, residing in Baltimore. The sale in Maryland of a slave brought from any other

state is illegal, and the person attempted to be sold is free. The girl, believing herself to be illegally detained in bondage, petitioned for her freedom. Mr. Slatter, the original purchaser, came forward, claiming the petitioner as his property, alleging that she had not been sold by him to Dr. Buckner, but only given on trial, that if she should prove suitable, he might on his return to Mississippi become a purchaser. The price put upon the girl by Mr. Slatter was 500 dollars; and it appears, as far as the trial has progressed, in allowing her to pass from his custody to that of Dr. Buckner, he received in exchange, or as he alleges collateral security, a check for 300 dollars, on the Farmers' and Planters' Bank of Baltimore, and a small coloured girl, a slave for life, valued at 200 dollars. The object of the petitioner is to show that the sale here in Baltimore, for which the 300 dollars check and the slave were rendered as an equivalent, was actually intended as a *bond fide* transaction; and, if so, she claims her freedom. The case may not be decided for some days to come.—*Emancipator*.

CATCHING RUNAWAYS BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.—During the debate in Congress on the Indian Appropriation Bill, Mr. Giddings moved to strike out the item of 2,000 dollars for the benefit of the Florida Indians. He said he had made the motion to call the attention of Congress and the country to the object of this appropriation. He called on the clerk to read the article in the treaty by which the United States stipulated to pay this sum to the Indians—and then the next article, containing a stipulation on the part of the Indians to perform certain services in return, which was as follows:—"The chiefs and warriors aforesaid, for themselves and their tribes, stipulate to be active and vigilant in preventing the retreating to, or passing through, the district of country assigned them of any absconding slaves or fugitives from justice; and further agree to use all necessary exertions to apprehend and deliver the same to the agent, who shall receive orders to compensate them agreeably to the trouble and expense incurred." Mr. Giddings remarked that in this way this subject of southern slavery is, year after year, forced upon the consideration of members here. In this way, the Government is annually interfering with slavery to support it. In this way, they are annually taking money from the pockets of the northern labourer, and paying it over to southern Indians to pay for catching slaves. He denied the constitutional power of the Government thus to interfere. Resistance to the unconstitutional and shameful appropriations of money for such purposes was denounced as "abolition." He should like to see the member of Congress that would come out boldly, and defend them as right.

Mr. Levy hoped the item would be struck out, but for a very different reason from that of the gentleman from Ohio. These Indians had been engaged in hostilities against the United States, and the violation of this article was one of the causes that led to hostilities in Florida. It was a very just and proper stipulation, which the Government had the right and the power to enter into; and one which the Indians were bound to perform.

Mr. Giddings.—This, sir, is the very point which I wish to see discussed. I am anxious to understand gentlemen on this plain doctrine. For the first time on this floor it is now avowed and proclaimed. The right of the Government to tax the labourers of the north to catch runaway slaves is now, for once, and the first time, distinctly put forth in a plain and intelligible form. I deny it in the most explicit manner. And the issue is thus placed in a clear manner before the country.

Mr. Giddings was mistaken. No report of this discussion was ever permitted to appear in a Washington paper; nor have we seen any report by a single Washington correspondent, except by David Lee Child.—*Emancipator*.

TEXAS.—WILL TEXAS BE ANNEXED?—Conjectures vary. The Daily Advertiser of yesterday says it was informed, from a trusty source, "that a meeting of the Whig members of the Senate had been held, at which the subject was considered, and it was unanimously agreed that that body would make use of its constitutional power to *veto* any such proposal of the president, should it be made."

On the contrary, the New York Tribune has a letter "from a special correspondent at Washington," dated the 17th, giving an estimate that there are thirty-eight senators for it, and only thirteen against it.—*Emancipator*.

Washington, March 18th, 1844.

The great subject of conversation for two or three days past has been the treaty of Texan annexation. It is now pretty generally believed that the treaty was nearly arranged at the time of Mr. Upshur's death. No one doubts that it is now completed, and that it will be sent to the Senate soon for ratification. It cannot pass that body, I think. Our friends, who have taken much pains and gathered the most correct information, rest with great confidence in the Senate. You will see by the papers that Mr. Winthrop asked a suspension of the rules in order to introduce a resolution declaring the sense of the House in regard to the annexation. It created great sensation. Mr. Payne and several others objected, and moved to lay the resolution on the table, even while it was being read for information. His motion to suspend the rules, however, was in order, and there were friends of the measure sufficient to call the yeas and nays. Southern Whigs and northern Democrats were alarmed, and voted against the suspension, generally. But the horror of northern Democrats was truly amusing. Many members were dissatisfied. They said they did not wish to stop all the business of the House to discuss the question of annexation, &c., and many thought Mr. Winthrop was hasty, and very imprudent, and all that sort of thing. Indeed, I did not know but some of them would introduce a resolution of censure, as they did upon Giddings, for introducing a resolution upon the subject of the Creole while it was in a train of negotiation, the same as the Texan treaty now is; but the House adjourned, and Mr. Winthrop has thus far escaped. It is said the whole subject is arranged, and that northern democrats are to sustain the annexation, cut down the tariff, and support the gag rule, as the consideration on which the Calhoun party are to support Mr. Van Buren for the presidency. This is rumour, but it comes from a source entitled to much credit. I now think it is to be the great absorbing question for the coming election, and that no candidate will be supported

by either party whose opinions are doubtful on this subject.—*Correspondent of the Emancipator*.

TEXAS ADMITTED.—The papers of this city, and of other cities, especially the Whigs, have been regularly astounded by the news that a treaty is actually negotiated, and probably already submitted to the Senate, by which Texas is made an integral part of the United States of America. Read the following editorials from leading Whig papers:—

We hear to-day, directly, and in such shape as to command our belief, that a treaty for the annexation of Texas, unfinished at Mr. Upshur's death, between him and the Texan minister, has been hurried to a conclusion by the acting secretary, Mr. Nelson, and signed, and that, to-morrow, or Monday, it will go to the Senate, where noses have been counted—enough, it is said, to ensure its ratification.—*New York American*, March 15.

So far as the president of the United States and the president of Texas are concerned, the Treaty is all but made. This information has, we confess, filled our minds with humiliation and apprehension; humiliation at the unauthorised and almost clandestine manner in which, after having heretofore solemnly rejected, for unanswerable reasons, a proposition for annexation, when sought by the government of Texas, our own government has gone a wooing to that of Texas, and solicited its favours; and apprehension of the consequences of the consummation of the treaty, which the president at least has been made to believe will be promptly ratified by a constitutional majority of the Senate of the United States. It is a question of peace or war, of self-preservation, of national existence, in comparison with which the ordinary topics of party controversy dwindle into absolute insignificance.—*National Intelligencer*, March 16.

ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.—It is stated in the Philadelphia North American of Thursday Morning, on the authority of a gentleman who assures the editors of the accuracy of his information, that Mr. Tyler has signed a treaty for the annexation of Texas to the United States. Should this be true, the monstrous act requires still to be endorsed by two-thirds of the Senate, before it becomes possessed of vitality and the power to do mischief.—*Atlas*, March 18.

There is a great breeze in Washington about the annexation of Texas. It is said that the president has already signed a treaty for this purpose, and that it is immediately to be submitted to the Senate.—*Boston Post*, March 18.

Mr. Calhoun, the new secretary of state, it is understood, is in favour of annexation, and a majority of the cabinet. Indeed, only one of the heads of department, Mr. Spencer, is a citizen of a free State. On this subject, in Massachusetts, and indeed in all the free States, especially those of New England, there will be but one opinion. Party lines will be thrown aside, and the people, we trust, will move in solid phalanx to prevent the admission of Texas into the Union.—*Mercantile Journal*, March 18.

We had hoped, and we still hope, that such a question was to be reserved for less troublous times. The project of the annexation of Texas, commending itself at once to the apparent interests of a part of our community, and furnishing so commanding a watchword for political effect, is one which must sooner or later be met by this country. Emphatically, this is not the time. With an executive who has the confidence of no important party in the country; with political parties so balanced that each claims the majority, and on the eve of an important national election; with a majority of one of the leading parties in one branch of Congress, and of the other in the other branch, at a time when responsibility is thus divided we are in no situation to meet a question, the discussion of which goes to the very root of our political system. We cannot yet believe that it will be demanded that it be settled now.

But if this question is to be pressed upon us; if it is true that Mr. Tyler has linked himself with this measure as one to make himself remembered by a fatal memento; if for this reason a southern man has been called to the cabinet to supply the place of those taken by sudden death from his executive council, we cannot too much rejoice that the opinion of the North has been decidedly expressed on this topic.

It is said that this is proposed to be effected by the treaty-making power. The North, which has protested against the annexation, will feel still more indignant at this arbitrary means of accomplishing it.

If President Tyler has committed himself to this measure, the Senate of the United States may be depended upon to defend the integrity of the Union it represents.—*Daily Advertiser*, March 18.

The expectation that the Senate will reject the treaty, after the course pursued by the legislatures of Massachusetts and New York, seems to us wholly gratuitous. We do not know that the senators of these two States will vote in favour of the treaty. Probably it will not be necessary. If, by one accident and another, some ten or a dozen northern senators should happen to be out of their seats at the moment of taking the question, the treaty will be carried by "two-thirds of all the senators present," which is all the constitution requires. If it is necessary to give a colour of decency, five or six slave-holding Whigs may even be allowed to vote against it, while the unscrupulous Democrats of New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and Illinois, would jump at the chance of filling their places and securing to their party so much extra merit by the deed.

But suppose the plot succeeds—what next? Why, nothing. When it is done, it is done, and cannot be undone. No repeal, no amendment, no reform, no change of parties, no denunciation of those who did it, no political sacrifice of the men who have betrayed liberty, can dissolve that bond. "Sink or swim, survive or perish," the Union and Texas are committed unalterably to a common destiny.

Should the success of the conspiracy at length satisfy the people of the North that they have nothing to hope for at the hands of the present race of politicians, and should such an onward impulse be given to the Liberty Party as will enable us to extend our operations at once into all the border slave States, and thus speedily move Mason and Dixon's line to the south of Virginia, great good will be wrought out of this terrible evil.—*Emancipator*, March 21.

CUBA.—From the Madrid Correspondent of the *Times* :—

Madrid, April 15.

Your readers are doubtless aware already of the shocking cruelties inflicted lately on the slaves in Cuba: but it will be instructive to read the report of a Spanish looker-on, and to hear his opinion of the effect of such cruelty.

"Havana, February 28.

"In my last letter I informed you of the movements of the negroes, and in what an unsettled state we find ourselves here, where fear and distrust are augmenting every day, because we do not see the Supreme Government take any measure capable of saving us; on the contrary, we clearly perceive that we are conducted towards a precipice. It would be endless if I were to relate to you, one by one, all the facts daily brought to light; and to avoid being tiresome, I will only say that the whole island is undermined, that the conspiracy of the blacks is very extensive, and that it is easy to see that they have a settled idea of emancipation, which they will soon or late accomplish. Since my last letter no settlement (*finca*) has been in a state of rebellion, but every day new accomplices are discovered in the sugar mills, (*ingenios*), and the negroes seem determined to carry the conspiracy to the end. The punishments of every kind have been horrible, we may say barbarous. Besides those killed in action, the masters of the negroes have been allowed the discretionary power of inflicting any punishment they please, and many have perished under the lash. To my knowledge there are sugar works in which as many as nine of these unfortunate beings have expired during the continuation of this barbarous treatment. I do not seek to exculpate the owners of the slaves who have acted in this manner, but what else can they do? The Government leaves the negro conspirators at their mercy. If these are not severely chastised, how can the masters maintain subordination? Can they suffer the other slaves to witness the impunity of their crime? Eleven were sentenced lately by the court-martial to be shot, and afterwards burnt. Horrid scenes! which, however, neither awe nor cause any effect upon the conspiring masses. I will relate a fact which proves this. The negroes of the sugar mill of Quevedo (an establishment situate near Guines) were to rise on the 11th instant, but the unexpected arrival of several white people who came to sleep there hindered the breaking out. This conspiracy was discovered by accident; and after the slaves had confessed their plan, which was (as everywhere else) to murder the whites, and destroy everything by fire and sword, they were asked where they had concocted the plan? Their answer was, 'At the Savanilla, while witnessing the execution of their comrades.'

"In the establishment of one of my brothers, whose slaves have seen all the executions, and among others that of the celebrated Jose Dolores, (a negro the terror of all that district,) eight of them are compromised in the conspiracy; and we know that in the settlement there still exists a Negro King and war standard, but they cannot be detected. What does all this teach us? That measures of terror are insufficient, that the thought and the desire of liberty are superior to all, and that other steps must be adopted for the white man's safety.

"You will naturally ask what plans have the Government pursued? The authorities say that measures have been taken; but nobody knows them—nobody sees them, and the peril augments every day. It is not sufficient to find out and chastise the guilty, the evil must be prevented, and still we do not see that this is done. Meanwhile the introduction of slaves is increased; 1,004 blacks have been entered at once. I have been assured that the English have withdrawn their cruisers, and that the negroes arrive here already instructed by them; and it has been told me as positive that among those who arrived lately many speak English."

The writer is apparently ignorant that the Carolina slave-breeders speak English, and that slaves are not bred in England.

Miscellanea.

CULTIVATION OF COTTON IN INDIA.—We have been favoured with a sample of cotton produced in India from Sea Island seed, which appears to be of an exceedingly promising character. It formed, we understand, part of a small parcel of two bags, shipped from Bombay, (the exact place of growth not being stated,) and sold last week at Liverpool, where it fetched the high price of 1s. 2d. per pound. It is of an exceedingly beautiful colour, and generally fine and strong staple, and appears to have been the produce of healthy and luxuriant plants; but, as it seems to us, not very carefully picked, being slightly mixed with the produce of inferior pods. It is, however, as the price justly indicates, an exceedingly valuable description of cotton; and, if it can be grown in sufficient quantities, will be found highly important to the manufacturers of this country. The following is the account given in a Liverpool broker's circular of the parcel sold in that town:—"This week, two bales of cotton of a new growth, imported from Bombay, have been sold at 14d. per pound. This cotton is much superior to the average of Sea Island, Georgia, cotton, being fine, silky, very long, clear, regular, and strong in staple, perfectly clean, and of beautiful cream colour. This is an important fact; for, if the culture of this cotton be extended, it will render Great Britain independent of the supply of Sea Island American cotton, and possibly, by proper attention, may bring about a supply of cotton that will supersede the use of Bowed Orleans. The cotton was thought cheap at 14d. per pound. Further inquiry into this matter should be urged on Government by the British manufacturers and spinners."—*Manchester Guardian*.

SLAVE-TRADE.—Her Majesty's ship *Cleopatra* had arrived in Simon's Bay, bringing with her two slave-rigged vessels, captured in Mozambique while deserted by their crew. The *Sociedade*, condemned by the mixed commission at the Cape, had been sold, with her cargo, for £2,650.—*Patriot*.

SLAVE-TRADE.—MURDEROUS OUTRAGE IN BRAZIL.—By the accounts which have just reached us, it appears that Captain Willis, of her Majesty's ship *Frolic*, having official business to transact with the American States Consul and British Vice Consul at Santos, previous to his return to Rio de Janeiro in the *Frolic*, ran in and anchored at the entrance of Santos Bay, about noon on the 5th of January, taking in his

gig with him the acting master of the *Frolic*, Mr. H. May, also his (the captain's) steward: they proceeded with pendant and ensign flying, and in the usual uniform worn by naval officers. Leaving their gig, they proceeded about three miles across a flat and uncultivated jungle. Having finished their business at Santos, they were making their way back to the beach, when, it being dusk, they were suddenly attacked by several ruffians, who beat them in a shocking manner; the captain having his left arm broken, his skull fractured, and other extensive injuries on the scalp, and on various parts of his body. The steward was found perfectly insensible, his life being despaired of; and Mr. May was dreadfully mangled, and thrown into the jungle, after having been, with the others, robbed of all they possessed. While on the ground, they were saluted in broken English with dreadful imprecations, and taunted with "trying to take the schooner." Happily the wretches were disturbed in time, and some persons came to the assistance of the sufferers, and rendered all the aid they could, under the direction of an English surgeon, who was soon on the spot.

The odious traffic in slaves is carried on with more vigour than ever in the Brazils. Seven thousand slaves are known to have been landed between Campos and Santos within the last ten weeks, and I fear many more that are not known to us. The *Frolic* and *Dolphin* are the only cruisers that have captured any slave vessels for a lengthened period. The *Frolic* has captured and driven on shore two brigs and a schooner, with 350 slaves in, at sea; the *Dolphin* one schooner, with 350 slaves in, at sea: she also captured one brig with 570, and two smaller vessels, supposed to have landed their slaves. It is supposed that the outrageous attack on Captain Willis was instigated by people in a better class of life than the ruffians who so nearly murdered him, as the *Frolic* has, for the last three months, completely stopped the Santos (staple) slave trade, not allowing any suspicious vessels to pass her without risk of seizure—keeping four of their vessels, ready for sea, blockaded, at a ruinous expense to the owners, two of which are now seized, and thus preventing not only the importation of some thousands of poor negroes, but even their embarkation in Africa, and consequently all the horrors of the middle passage.—*Abridged from the Hampshire Telegraph*.

THE SLAVE TRADE.—A letter from Havana, of the 25th ult., published in the *New Orleans Bee*, says a ship arrived on the coast last week with upwards of 1,000 negroes, and it is said that 13,000 dollars was paid to the captain-general, so as to allow the landing of them.—*Times*.

THE SLAVE TRADE.—The slaver *Josephine*, Lieutenant Jamieson in charge, one of the three slavers captured by her Majesty's steamer *Thunderbolt*, arrived at Table Bay on January 29, having on board 457 negroes, viz., 240 males and 217 females. The other two slavers had not reached port, but were daily expected.—*Ibid*.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

THE following contributions have been received since our last list was published, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

| | Donations. | | | Subs. | | |
|---|------------|----|----|-------|----|----|
| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
| Pontefract—Barker, Francis | | | | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Chesham—Pryor, Samuel | | | | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Stoke Newington Ladies' Auxiliary | 12 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Bristol—Hunt, Henry | 5 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Aberdeen Ladies' Anti-slavery Association | 3 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Wigham, Anthony | 0 | 10 | 6 | | | |
| Balance of a Fund for the relief of aged and worn-out slaves in the island of Antigua, not now required for that purpose, by Thomas Christy, Broomfield | 36 | 4 | 6 | | | |
| Newcastle Emancipation Society | 10 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Liverpool—Thompson, Mrs., per H. Sterry | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Stoke Newington—Johnson, William, ditto | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Peckham—Harris, John, ditto | | | | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Southwark—Rosling, Alfred, ditto | | | | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Kennington—Hooper, John, ditto | | | | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Peckham—Norton, Thomas, ditto | | | | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Rochester and Chatham Auxiliary | 7 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Tatum, William | | | | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Dublin—Malone, William | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Bewley, Henry | | | | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bewley, Samuel | 3 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Russell, Henry | | | | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bristol—Burdur, Rev. John | 0 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| Woodbridge—Thompson, Philip | | | | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Liskeard Anti-Slavery Association | | | | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Ladies' ditto | 3 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| Allen, John | | | | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Allen, Frances | | | | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Elliott, Mary | | | | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Rundell, Samuel | | | | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wadge, John | | | | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Tideford—Fox, Ann | | | | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Looe—Jackson, Clement | | | | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| St. Austle—Veale, John E. | | | | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Veale, Richard | | | | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Veale Brothers | | | | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Hazlewood—Peek, Richard | | | | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| London—Masters, H. W. | | | | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Peek, James | | | | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Post, Jacob | | | | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Lister, J. J. | | | | 2 | 2 | 0 |

Printed by WILLIAM TYLER, of 25, Duncan-terrace, Islington, in the county of Middlesex, printer, and CHARLES REED, of Cambridge-heath, Hackney, in the said county of Middlesex, printer, at their printing-office, No. 5, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, in the city of London; and published by LANCELOT WILD, of No. 13, Catherine-street, in the parish of St. Mary-le-Strand, in the county of Middlesex, publisher, at 13, Catherine-street, Strand, as aforesaid.

Wednesday, May 1, 1844.